

JUNE 26, 2006

TIME

INDIA INC.

EXCLUSIVE BOOK EXCERPT
AL-QAEDA'S PLOT

TO ATTACK THE NYC SUBWAY
By Ron Suskind

Why the
world's biggest
democracy is the
next great economic
superpower—and what it
means for America



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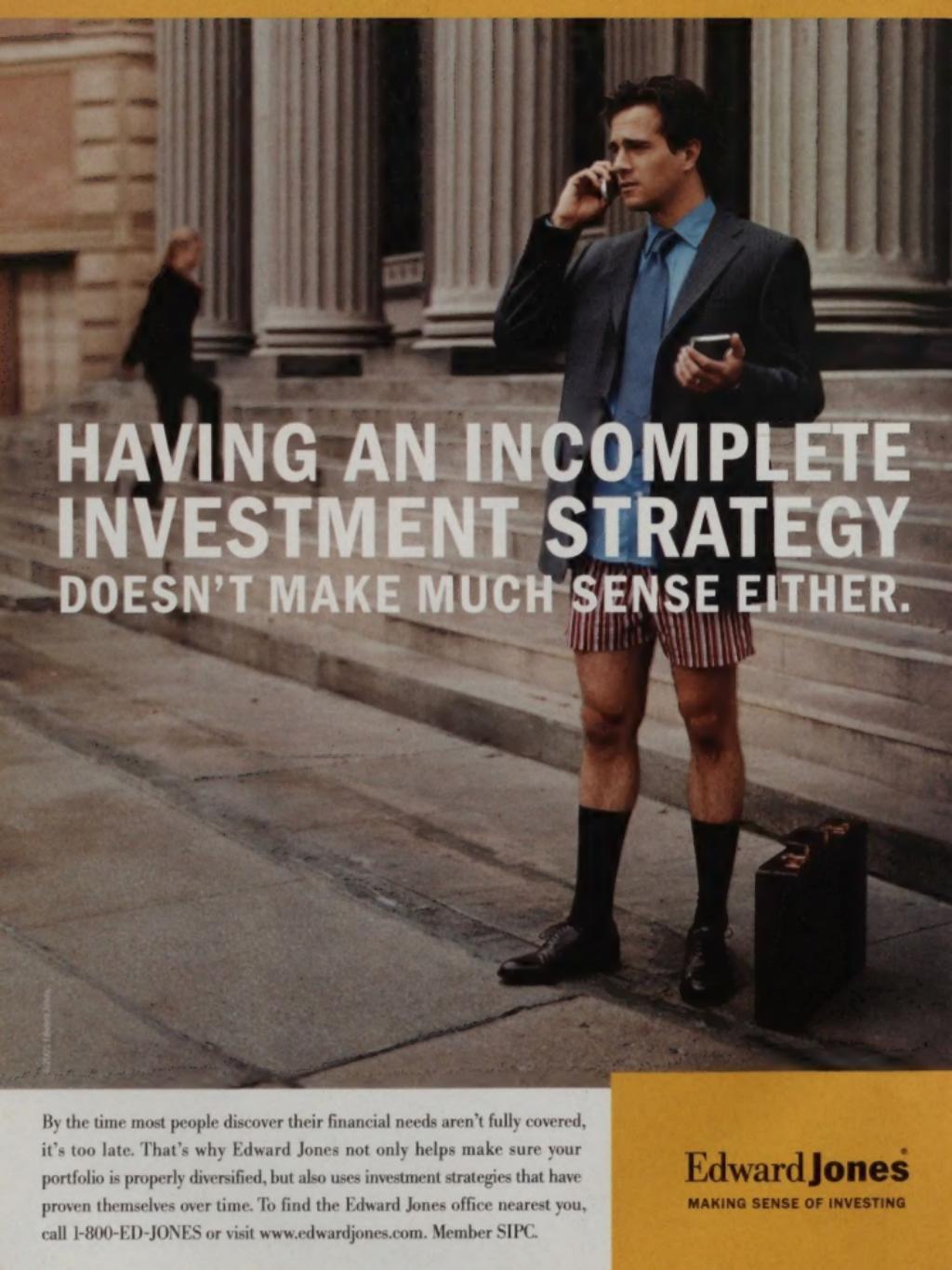


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TIME

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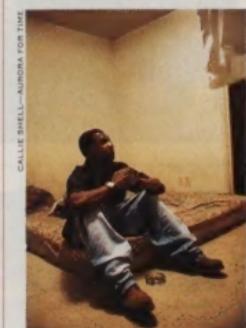
COVER

Buoyed by wealth and a sense of limitless opportunity, India is remaking itself—and the rest of the world—with its thriving high-tech economy, mushrooming cities and glittering films. The new India is closer than you think



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The plot against
New York City's
subways relied
on poison-gas canisters
small enough to carry



CARLIE SHELL/AURORA FOR TIME

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Craig Jones, here in his
Cincinnati apartment,
makes \$6.50 an hour
as a janitor. What is work worth?



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A new, drug-resistant
strain of staph bacteria
is on the march, and
scientists are raising the alarm

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INDIAN STUNNER: The City of Dreams is living up to its name

The Booming Subcontinent

India, this week's cover subject, is a vast and complicated country, and you'll find lots more about it at time.com/india, including a profile of the man who is overhauling Indian industry and a **PHOTO ESSAY** narrated by correspondent Alex Perry as he journeys through **BOMBAY**, home to both Manhattan-priced condos and sprawling slums.

PICTURE OF THE WEEK

Every Friday on time.com/we choose a selection of the week's best images and invite readers to vote for their favorite. Last week's winner was this image of Thai mahouts aboard their elephants, watching the animated movie *Kan Kiay* at an outdoor theater 50 miles north of Bangkok. time.com/potw

LAST
WEEK'S
WINNER



PHOTOGRAPH BY AP/WIDEWORLD

WORLD CUP FEVER

As the globe is galvanized by the soccer tournament, our team of reporters in Germany will be sending along regular dispatches, with editor at large Bill Saporito glued to the U.S. team.

FOTO: PULLER/ACTION PRESS/RETNA



QUICK POLL

WHO'S YOUR FAVORITE TELEVISION HOST?

In this week's issue, TIME's TV critic, James Poniewozik, discusses what makes a good TV host. What's your opinion? Are you partial to Regis? Do you root on Dr. Phil? Feel more like dancing with Ellen? Cast a vote for your favorite TV host in an online poll, at time.com/hosts. Then we'll see: Can anyone compete with Oprah?



Inside the Terror Network

THE ARCHIVE

This week's excerpt, from Ron Suskind's book *The One Percent Doctrine*, is the latest in a string of major stories in TIME on the shadowy network that burst into America's consciousness with the attacks of Sept. 11.

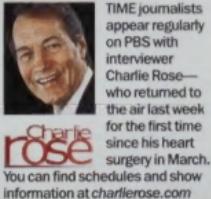
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ASK THE AUTHOR



Suskind reveals vivid new details about the race by U.S. intelligence to thwart al-Qaeda's terrorist designs on America. Do you have more questions? Ask them at timearchive.com/suskind, and the author will respond.

TIME ON TV



Charlie Rose

TIME journalists appear regularly on PBS with interviewer Charlie Rose—who returned to the air last week for the first time since his heart surgery in March. You can find schedules and show information at charlierose.com



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10 QUESTIONS FOR Art Buchwald

Humorist Art Buchwald was supposed to be dead by now. His doctors told him in January that his kidneys were failing, but he chose not to endure dialysis and moved into a Washington hospice to await death. To his surprise, it hasn't come yet. TIME's Elaine Shannon visited Buchwald, 80, at the hospice, where they chatted about his forthcoming book, whom he wants to meet in heaven (Judas Iscariot) and his failure to get on Richard Nixon's enemies list.

You're going to Martha's Vineyard on July 1. What are you going to do there? I'm going to live. Back in February I lost my leg—that had nothing to do with my kidney. After I lost my leg, I was very depressed. I'd taken dialysis about 12 times, and I said, "I'm not going to do it anymore." Because of my decision to be in a hospice, all my friends came here to see me. I've had everybody—the French ambassador, Ethel Kennedy, Ben Bradlee—come to say goodbye. You had to take a ticket like in a shopping center because there were so many people coming in. But as time went on, they kept saying, "Wait a minute. Why are you still here?" They didn't say it in a mean way. They were delighted that I was going to be with them for a while. Now I have a new leg. I have a life. I have a book I hope to finish soon. It's called *Too Soon to Say Goodbye*. I didn't know dying was this much fun.

What do you have to say to your doctors about the limits of medicine? I have nothing to say to them, and they have nothing to say to me. The kidney is working, obviously. They didn't expect it to, because when you have a real kidney problem and don't take dialysis, you're going to die. And I chose not to.

I was thinking of the famous line "Dying is easy. Comedy is



hard." My line is "Dying is easy. Parking is hard." Once I made up my mind, I was at peace with myself, and it became kind of funny. That's what my book's about.

Have there been times in your life when humor didn't seem like enough to get you through? Yeah. You wouldn't be a decent person if you didn't feel that way. John F. Kennedy's assassination was a big blow to me.

There were times in World War II when I was very frightened. I was in the Marine Corps. I was 18, 19 years old. You'd be a fool if you weren't scared. There have been a lot of parts of my life that I didn't turn into a joke.

And more recently? Yes—I lost my wife. I lost my wife.

Do you have any religious belief? Yes. I believe there is a

God, but he's not the one all the religions claim. The Christian religion, the Jewish religion, the Muslim religion—if you believe in their God, other people will say you're an infidel. There's a God out there, but not the one that causes all the trouble in the world. The people who fight all the wars now—not just Iraq but all over—believe that their God told them to.

Which presidency have you found to be the richest vein for a humorist? Nixon. But one of the things I have to live with is that I never made Nixon's enemies list. All my buddies made fun of me. My buddies made it, and I didn't. And my standing as a serious journalist in this town went way down. Once, I ran into one of the big shots and complained, and that person said, "You weren't important enough." That was a body blow.

And the Bush Administration? It's a very rich vein. It's like discovering gold. The people around [Bush]—Rove, Cheney and the rest of the Administration—they lie to you. Unfortunately, it's scarier if they don't think they're lying. I use that kind of stuff for satire. I don't like to preach because that's not what people are paying me for.

I read your column about a game you play in which you name five people you want to meet in heaven. Yours are Ava Gardner, Marilyn Monroe, Grace Kelly, Rita Hayworth—I understand those. But Judas? People said, "Why Judas?" I want to ask him if he really was a buddy of Jesus and whether he was responsible for Jesus dying and coming back. That would make him a good guy instead of a bad guy.

Does the game include people you'd like to avoid in heaven? Yeah. Those are very personal—I didn't want people like Adolf Hitler. So one of mine was the gal who took a parking place from me at the shopping center and then laughed at me. ■

Treating bipolar disorder takes understanding:

where you've been

You've been up and down, with mood swings and relapses. You may have also been misunderstood or misdiagnosed for years before being properly treated.

where you want to go

You want to move forward with treatment to help stabilize your mood swings. It starts with effective symptom control.

and how to get there

ABILIFY® may be able to help. ABILIFY is indicated for treating acute manic or mixed episodes associated with Bipolar I Disorder and maintaining efficacy in patients who have been stabilized and then maintained for at least six weeks. That means ABILIFY could help control your symptoms of bipolar mania, stabilize your mood, and reduce your risk of manic relapse. In clinical trials, most patients taking ABILIFY did not gain weight or feel drowsy.* (See most common side effects listed below.)

HOW ABILIFY IS THOUGHT TO WORK:

While the exact way ABILIFY (or any medicine for bipolar disorder) works is unknown, it is thought that ABILIFY may work by affecting the activity of some key brain chemicals—adjusting dopamine, instead of completely blocking it, and adjusting serotonin.

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When activity of key brain chemicals is too low, ABILIFY raises it.

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Individual results may vary.

www.abilify.com/bipolardisorder

*On average, in short-term trials, patients reported meaningful weight gain, ABILIFY 3%, placebo 2%; drowsiness, ABILIFY 12%, placebo 8%.

What important information about ABILIFY do I need to know?

Elderly patients diagnosed with psychosis as a result of dementia (for example, an inability to perform daily activities as a result of increased memory loss), and who are treated with atypical antipsychotic medicines including ABILIFY, are an increased risk of death when compared to patients who are treated with a placebo (sugar pill). ABILIFY is not approved for the treatment of patients with dementia-related psychosis.

Serious side effects can occur with any antipsychotic medicine, including ABILIFY. Tell your doctor or healthcare professional right away if you have or develop any conditions or side effects, such as:

- Very high fever, rigid muscles, shaking, confusion, sweating, or increased heart rate and blood pressure may be signs of **neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS)**, which is rare but potentially fatal.
- Abnormal or uncontrollable facial movements may be signs of **tardive dyskinesia (TD)**, which may be permanent.
- If you are **elderly**, an increased risk of stroke or ministroke has been reported in clinical trials for elderly patients with dementia.

• If you have **diabetes**, risk factors for, or symptoms of diabetes, increases in blood sugar levels have been reported with medicines like ABILIFY. In some cases these were serious and resulted in coma or death.

• If you have lightheadedness, seizures, trouble swallowing, or suicidal thoughts.

It's important to tell your healthcare professional about all the medicines you're taking, since there are some risks for drug interactions with ABILIFY.

You should avoid alcohol while taking ABILIFY.

Do not drive or operate heavy machinery until you know how ABILIFY affects you.

What are the most common side effects of ABILIFY?

Common side effects include: constipation, an inner sense of restlessness or need to move (akathisia), headache, nausea, upset stomach, vomiting, agitation, anxiety, insomnia, sleepiness, lightheadedness, and tremor.

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5-10-15-20-30-mg Tablets

This summary of the Package Insert contains risk and safety information for patients about ABILITY. This summary does not include all information about ABILITY and does not take the place of discussions with your doctor or healthcare professional about your treatment. Please read this important information before you start taking ABILITY and discuss any questions about ABILITY with your doctor or healthcare professional.

Name

ABILITY® (a-BIL-i-fi) (aripiprazole) (air-ri-PIP-rah-zole)

What is ABILITY?

ABILITY is a prescription medicine used to treat patients with an acute manic or mixed episode associated with Bipolar I Disorder and for maintaining efficacy in these patients who have been stabilized and then maintained for at least six weeks.

What is Bipolar I Disorder?

Bipolar I Disorder is an illness with symptoms thought to be caused by an imbalance of brain chemicals. People who have Bipolar I Disorder tend to experience extreme mood swings, along with other specific symptoms and behaviors. These mood swings, or "episodes," can take three forms: manic, depressive, or mixed episodes. Common symptoms of a manic episode are: feeling extremely happy, being very irritable and anxious, talking too fast and too much, and having more energy and needing less sleep than usual. Common symptoms of a depressive episode include: feelings of overwhelming sadness or emptiness, low energy, a loss of interest in things, trouble concentrating, changes in sleep or appetite, and thoughts of dying or suicide. A mixed episode includes symptoms that are both manic and depressive.

Who should not take ABILITY?

People who are allergic to ABILITY or to any substance that is in it. Please talk with your doctor or healthcare professional.

What important information should I know about ABILITY?

Elderly patients, diagnosed with psychosis as a result of dementia (for example, an inability to perform daily activities as a result of increased memory loss), and who are treated with atypical antipsychotic medicines including ABILITY, are at an increased risk of death when compared to patients who are treated with a placebo (sugar pill). ABILITY is not approved for the treatment of patients with dementia-related psychosis.

Serious side effects can occur with any antipsychotic medicine, including ABILITY. Tell your doctor or healthcare professional right away if you have any conditions or side effects, including the following:

Neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS): Very high fever, rigid muscles, shaking, confusion, sweating, or increased heart rate and blood pressure may be signs of NMS, a rare but serious side effect that could be fatal.

Tardive dyskinesia (TD): Abnormal or uncontrollable facial movements may be signs of a serious condition known as TD, which may be permanent.

Elderly patients with dementia: An increased risk of stroke and ministroke has been reported in a clinical study of elderly patients with dementia (for example, increased memory loss and inability to perform daily activities). ABILITY is not approved for treating patients with dementia.

Diabetes: Patients with diabetes and those having risk factors for diabetes (for example: obesity, family history of diabetes), as well as those with symptoms such as unexpected increases in thirst, urination, or hunger should have their blood sugar levels checked before and during treatment. Increases in blood sugar levels (hyperglycemia), in some cases serious and associated with coma or death, have been reported in patients taking medicines like ABILITY.

Orthostatic hypotension: Lightheadedness or faintness caused by a sudden change in heart rate and blood pressure when rising too quickly from a sitting or lying position (orthostatic hypotension) has been reported with ABILITY.

Dysphagia: Medicines like ABILITY have been associated with swallowing problems (dysphagia). If you had or have swallowing problems, you should tell your doctor or healthcare professional.

Suicidal thoughts: If you have suicidal thoughts, you should tell your doctor or healthcare professional right away.

What should I tell my doctor or healthcare professional before I start taking ABILITY (aripiprazole)?

Information about your overall health, and any medical problems you may have, such as:

- Whether you're taking any other prescription or nonprescription (over-the-counter) medicines
- Whether you're pregnant, plan to become pregnant, or are breast-feeding
- If you or anyone in your family has had seizures
- If you or anyone in your family has had high blood sugar or diabetes

What should I avoid when taking ABILITY?

- Avoid overheating and dehydration
- Avoid driving or operating hazardous machinery until you know how ABILITY affects you
- Avoid drinking alcohol
- Avoid breast-feeding an infant

What are the common side effects of ABILITY?

Common side effects include: constipation, an inner sense of restlessness or need to move (akathisia), headache, nausea, upset stomach, vomiting, agitation, anxiety, trouble sleeping (insomnia), sleepiness, lightheadedness, and tremor.

What percentage of people stopped taking ABILITY due to side effects?

In clinical trials, the percentage of people who discontinued taking ABILITY due to side effects was similar for patients treated with ABILITY (11%) and for patients treated with sugar pill (9%).

Can I safely take ABILITY while I'm taking other medications?

ABILITY can be taken with most drugs; however, taking ABILITY with some medicines may require your doctor or healthcare professional to adjust the dosage of ABILITY.

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- fluoxetine (PROZAC®)
- paroxetine (PAXIL®)
- carbamazepine (TEGRETOL®)

It is important to tell your doctor or healthcare professional about all the medicines you're taking, just to be sure.

General information:

- ABILITY is usually taken once a day, with or without food
- ABILITY should be kept out of the reach of children and pets
- Store ABILITY Tablets at room temperature and the Oral Solution in the refrigerator
- For patients who must limit their sugar intake, be aware that ABILITY Oral Solution contains sugar
- If you have additional questions, talk to your doctor or healthcare professional

Find out more about ABILITY:

Please visit our website at www.ability.com/bipolardisorder

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The Deadliest War in the World

Our reporting on the forgotten conflict in Congo and the enormous toll it has taken on the nation's inhabitants moved readers to share their sadness and pity. Many wondered how the devastation could have escaped the world's attention for so long, while others called for action to prevent further suffering.

THANK YOU FOR DRAWING ATTENTION TO the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo, perhaps the world's most neglected humanitarian crisis [June 5]. Fewer than 2% of the deaths in the conflict are due to violent acts, while almost three-quarters are due to easily preventable infectious diseases and malnutrition. Our survey, which was mentioned in your story, found that when security is assured, death rates plummet. Halting the fighting would allow medical clinics to function, food production to recommerce, markets to operate and people to return home from unsanitary refugee camps. The impact on public health is clear: tens of thousands of lives could be saved every month. But as you rightly observe, the political will does not exist to increase the peacekeeping force to a level that would make that possible. It is a shame that the decision to allocate resources in a crisis is too often based on political considerations rather than humanitarian need.

RICHARD J. BRENNAN, M.D.

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE
New York City

BENJAMIN COGHLAN, M.D.
BURNET INSTITUTE
Melbourne, Australia

IT IS WRENCHING TO SEE THE PEOPLE OF a vast and resourceful country suffer such malnutrition, disease and terror while the U.S. and the rest of the world blithely go their own way. You have opened our eyes; now we have to open our hearts.

KURT FREY
Cheshire, Conn.

MY FIRST TRIP TO CONGO WAS IN AUGUST 1998, just days before the current war began, and I have seen the infrastructure and essential services decline ever since. How could we, the civilized world, allow this war to consume 3.9 million innocent lives? Even worse, why are so few people talking about it and even fewer doing something about it?

WOODY M. COLLINS
Indianapolis, Ind.



“Your cover story on Congo was a heartbreakingly reminder of yet another area of our world where suffering reigns supreme.”

LYNN MARK
St. Louis, Mo.

I AM WORRIED ABOUT THE IMPACT OF James Nachtwey's photos of anguished Congolese. There is a heroism about the images, but there is also a romantic artistry that blunts the pain, and they suggest too strongly the presence of attentive helpers. We Americans know far too little about Africa and pay too little attention. But would we turn so blind an eye to the death, in less than a decade, of 6% of our own population at the hands of warring parties? I hope not.

DOUG WATSON
Shawnee, Okla.

YOUR COVER STORY ON CONGO WAS A heartbreakingly reminder of yet another area of our world where suffering reigns

supreme. When I had finished studying the photographs, I turned to the next story—about the complex surgery performed on the injured racehorse Barbaro. Why is it that we are willing to spend many thousands of dollars on a finely tuned animal yet virtually ignore the scope of human need? The contrast is mind boggling.

LYNN MARK
St. Louis, Mo.

TIME'S STORY WAS A CONCISE AND ACCURATE picture of the world's most lethal conflict since World War II. For more than a century, Congo has endured slavery, poverty and destruction. And the end is not in sight. Along with humanitarian aid, there must be diplomatic reconciliation between Congo's east and west, scholarships for young Congolese people to study in Europe and the U.S., and firm agreements among Congo's neighboring nations to keep their armies away. As the story noted, elections will be nearly impossible at this juncture. But at least we can now appreciate the full extent of the horror these people have experienced all their lives. As we debate U.S. involvement in Sudan, perhaps we can spare a few minutes to consider the plight of those innocent souls pictured so well by TIME's reporting.

RICHARD B. LAWSON
Mountlake Terrace, Wash.

CONGO NEEDS HELP, AND THE FIRST STEP toward that is focusing media attention. The Congolese have suffered in silence and had their plight ignored for far too long. In fact, the nation seems to have a history of silence. Many people did not know about the atrocities committed during the rule of Belgium's King Leopold II, and many do not know what is going on today. Thank you for bringing attention to a place that dearly needs it. Your story was extremely moving. I hope readers will be persuaded to take action and help restore dignity and peace to the brave Congolese people.

AMANDA DOVEATT
Naperville, Ill.

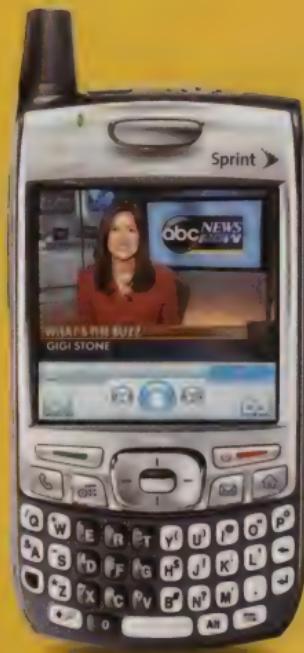
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A Cosi Stan

February 21, 2006: Loaded onto an NYK bulk carrier at Puerto Drummond, Colombia, 115,000 tons of coal, to be transported to the United States with a North Atlantic heading.

“Lighting Up the Afternoon”

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TIME'S TOP LETTER GETTERS

Do some news stories make you so glad, sad or mad that you have to sound off? Write to letters@time.com, and your comments may be read by millions of TIME readers all over the world. What blog can match that? Here are the 2006 TIME cover stories that have netted the most mail so far:

The Dixie Chicks, May 29.....	997
The Immigration Debate, April 10.....	769
Global Warming, April 3	605
High School Dropouts, April 17.....	579
Inside the Autistic Mind, May 15.....	486
The TIME 100, May 8.....	407
Cheney's Stray Shot, Feb. 27.....	229
Science Education, Feb. 13.....	228
Opus Dei, April 24	216
What Scares Doctors? May 1.....	169

THOSE OF US WHO LIVE AND WORK IN Congo sometimes have difficulty understanding why so little attention is paid to one of the world's worst humanitarian crises. I must take issue, however, with the authors' contention that the country cannot save itself. It is true that Congo needs a great deal of international support to hold elections, develop infrastructure and put an end to the insecurity in the east. But real progress will occur only when all of Congo's leaders and citizens decide to make things better for themselves.

LAURA SEAY
Goma, Democratic Republic of Congo

WELL, IT'S ABOUT TIME! I HAVE BEEN working in the humanitarian-aid field for several years, and every time I visit the U.S. (my country of origin), I cannot help wondering how many wars go unnoticed because they aren't mentioned on the evening news. Unfortunately, for the 3.9 million killed so far in Congo and the countless more who are dying as I write this, your story is too late.

ELIZABETH M. CAMP
London

YOUR SELECTION OF PHOTOGRAPHS FROM Congo is simply devastating. Why is the world so silent? The U.S. is spending billions of dollars fighting wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, but to what avail? If the Bush Administration really cares about establishing democracy around the world, it is concentrating on the wrong region.

KRIS SAHAY
Winnipeg, Ont.

Church vs. State

RE "BATTLE OF THE BISHOPS" [MAY 15], ON China's unauthorized ordination of two Roman Catholic bishops: China is flouting ancient church law to assert its authority over all areas of the religious as well as political life of its population. The decision by Beijing to appoint two bishops of its own appears to be a cynical attempt to increase the schism between the roughly 4 million Chinese Catholics who worship through the state-controlled Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association and the 8 million Chinese Catholics loyal to the Vatican. That is the last thing the Catholic Church needs as it tries to build bridges and protect those who are dedicated to its teachings from the power brokering and politicking of Beijing.

MEL DUGUINAN
Dublin

SAFE, LEGAL AND RARE



Advocates on both sides of the abortion debate sense that the new lineup in the U.S. Supreme Court may soon leave the issue in the hands of the states. But as our May 4,

1992, cover story reported, court decisions on abortion rights may have become irrelevant:

"Just because abortion is legal in Illinois doesn't mean that Sheila Paine can easily get one. At the age of 30, she already has five children. Last week she was in the 19th week of a pregnancy she couldn't afford; her husband is unemployed and the family lives on welfare. She also couldn't afford the reduced \$425 price of a second-trimester abortion at the clinic near her home in East St. Louis ... **SHE RULED OUT A CHEAP ILLEGAL ABORTION BECAUSE A GIRLFRIEND BLED TO DEATH AFTER GETTING ONE.** 'I know other girls who've done different things,' she says. 'Jumped off the top of dressers or provoked their boyfriends to jump on them.' But the prospect of trying to support yet another child made her sick with worry ... Abortions are still legal in Texas too. But that doesn't mean doctors can easily perform them. Four years ago, Dr. Curtis Boyd's Dallas clinic came under siege for weeks by antiabortion demonstrators ... Then came the handwritten death threat in his mailbox." Read more at timearchive.com.

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Lessons of the Cold War

PETER BEINART'S ESSAY "LET YOUR ENEMIES CRUMBLE" [June 5] correctly pointed out that containment policies against repressive regimes have been successful, most notably with the Soviet Union during the cold war. The Soviet leaders, however, were consistently capable of rational judgment, whereas Saddam Hussein was not entirely so—which made him far more unpredictable and dangerous. If Saddam were still in power, isn't it likely that he would have been able to reconstitute at least some of his WMD programs by now?

CHANNING BLICKENSTAFF
West Lafayette, Ind.

Obama for President

THANK YOU, JOE KLEIN, FOR YOUR COLUMN ON BARACK OBAMA AS A POSSIBLE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE [June 5]. IN MY OPINION, OBAMA IS NOT ONLY THE FUTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY BUT ALSO THE FUTURE OF AMERICA. ALTHOUGH HE HAS "ZERO MILITARY AND NATIONAL-SECURITY EXPERIENCE"—AS WAS THE CASE WITH THE CURRENT PRESIDENT—HE UNDERSTANDS THE PROB-

LEMS FACING EVERYDAY AMERICANS. IT'S REFRESHING TO HEAR SOMEONE LIKE OBAMA SPEAK FROM THE HEART AND ACTUALLY MEAN WHAT HE SAYS. ELECT OBAMA IN 2008!

RALPH REAGAN
West Cape May, N.J.

I AGREE WITH KLEIN 100%. I ATTENDED A SMALL DINNER WITH OBAMA AND WAS LEFT STUNNED BY HIS POSSIBILITIES. YES, HE'S YOUNG. YES, HE'S NEW. BUT HE HAS WHAT OUR COUNTRY NEEDS RIGHT NOW.

SUSAN BURMEISTER-BROWN
Portland, Ore.

The Enron Verdicts

I APPRECIATED THE VIEWPOINT COLUMN ON THE ENRON VERDICTS BY THE COMPANY'S WHISTLE-BLOWER, SHERRON WATKINS [June 5]. I AGREE WITH HER ARGUMENT THAT HUMILITY IS A BASIC INGREDIENT OF A SPIRITUAL LIFE. NO MATTER HOW OFTEN HE INVOKES SCRIPTURE, ENRON'S FOUNDER, KEN LAY, WILL NEVER LEARN THAT STEALING IS WRONG UNTIL HE FINDS SOME OF THAT ELUSIVE CHARACTERISTIC. BUT THERE IS HOPE: SOME PEOPLE LEARN THAT VALUABLE LESSON IN PRISON.

GARY ROE
Santa Cruz, Calif.

WATKINS HAS CAPTURED THE ESSENCE OF LEADERSHIP: HUMILITY AND AN ABILITY TO ADMIT MISTAKES. IF I HADN'T KNOWN SHE WAS DESCRIBING LAY'S FATAL FLAWS AS THE LEADER OF ENRON, I WOULD HAVE CONCLUDED THAT SHE WAS DESCRIBING BUSH'S FATAL FLAWS AS THE LEADER OF OUR NATION. WE TAXPAYERS ARE THE STOCKHOLDERS AND CUSTOMERS OF OUR GOVERNMENT, AND WE OWE IT TO OURSELVES AND OUR PROGENY TO ASK, THE NEXT TIME WE GO TO THE POLLS, WHETHER WE HAVE LEARNED FROM THE FAILURES OF OUR LEADERS.

MIMI BARRON
Fredericksburg, Va.

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—Peter Travers, ROLLING STONE

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NoteBook

WITH
ZARQAWI
**DEAD, CAN
THE TROOPS
COME HOME?**



JUNE HAS BEEN GOOD FOR THE U.S. AND IRAQI GOVERNMENTS, BUT has it been as good as both say? The killing of terrorist leader Abu Musab al-Zarqawi was a huge victory that led to the capture of some 800 insurgents and the killings of at least 100 more, officials said. But even as Iraqi National Security Adviser Mouwafak al-Rubaie trumpeted "the beginning of the end of al-Qaeda in Iraq," the

U.S. military death toll passed 2,500, deadly attacks by insurgents continued, and al-Zarqawi's successor was named. A U.S. military spokesman identified him as Egyptian-born Abu Ayyub al-Masri, though jihadis said his name is Abu Hamza al-Muhajer. (A U.S. intelligence official said the man's real identity is not certain.) Whatever his name, he is said to be an Afghanistan-trained explosives expert who is a longtime stalwart of al-Qaeda in Iraq.

Even with the post-Zarqawi prognosis for Iraq unclear, a loud debate erupted in Washington over when to bring the troops home. The Bush Administration, which got a bump in the polls after al-Zarqawi's death, has

talked for weeks about U.S. forces standing down as Iraqi forces stand up. With the Iraqi military and police up to 263,000-strong, some U.S. officers are privately saying it is time to start pulling American forces back. And some congressional Democrats renewed their calls for a pullout timetable.

A definitive reply to the calls for a drawdown came from General George Casey, the U.S. commander in Iraq: Not just yet. A senior defense official tells TIME that Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld last week quietly approved Casey's request to begin the deployment process for 15,000 troops, who should be in the Middle East by October to replace some of the 127,000 now

in Iraq. "Things are still too uncertain in Iraq for the U.S. commanders to take a chance," says an officer. But there may be more good news soon. According to a senior officer, Casey—who is expected to meet with Rumsfeld in Washington this week—is leaning toward a reduction to 100,000 troops in Iraq by Christmas. —By Sally B. Donnelly and Timothy J. Burger



Rove: Off the Hook

TOP WHITE HOUSE AIDE KARL Rove, who generally won't approve any flight that costs more than \$500, was waiting for his Southwest Airlines flight from Baltimore to Manchester, N.H., to take off last week when he got a stunning BlackBerry message from his lawyer, Robert Luskin: "Fitzgerald Called. Case Over." Patrick Fitzgerald, the special counsel investigating the leak of former CIA officer Valerie Plame's identity, had sent a fax saying that absent any unexpected developments, he did not anticipate any criminal charges against Rove. The message to Luskin from Fitzgerald—who said nothing publicly—was an unrequired, if welcome, courtesy. Rove had been in suspense since at least February 2004, when he made the first of five grand jury appearances. Luskin said the case, which continues with charges against former White House official I. Lewis (Scooter) Libby, had taken "an

SPEED READ

KFC's Big Fat Problem

In the latest salvo against fast-food chains, KFC is being sued for frying its chicken in cooking oils that contain trans fats, which can contribute to heart disease and diabetes. Here's the skinny on the fat fight:

Why doesn't KFC use a healthier oil? Like most fast-food chains, KFC cooks with partially hydrogenated vegetable oil, which doesn't turn rancid as quickly as healthier, nonhydrogenated oils.





Rove is in the
Rose Garden; he
won't be indicted

Back to Battle

enormous toll" and that his client was relieved.

While in legal limbo, Rove, President Bush's senior adviser and deputy chief of staff, had remained a puckish but lower-profile warrior. But he marked his victory by telling Republicans in Manchester that Democrats favor "cutting and

running" from Iraq—bold words to show that "the Architect," as Bush has called him, is back to battle unencumbered at a time when the White House needs his strategic instincts more than ever. Bush said he "took a sigh of relief" at Fitzgerald's decision and declared, "I trust Karl Rove." White House chief of staff Josh Bolten endorses Rove's renewed zeal, especially ahead of November's midterm elections. "The tone that I want to set here is not one that shies away from partisanship where it's appropriate," Bolten said. "I believe it is very important that this White House be focused on success in the '06 elections—not for success's sake, but because that's how we can better ensure that the President is effective in pursuing his agenda." —By Mike Allen

SAVE THE SEAL!

President Bush last week created the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands National Monument, the largest marine preserve in the world. It is 100 times as big as Yosemite and protects species like the Hawaiian monk seal, right, which should thank Laura Bush. She invited Jean-Michel Cousteau, Jacques's son, to the White House in April to screen a film on the islands. White House Council on Environmental Quality chairman James Connaughton says the President and Cousteau then talked ocean policy over supper (no fish) and into the night. Two months later—it usually takes two years—Bush made his proclamation, adding a surprising green stripe to his legacy. —M.A.



STEPHEN FRANK COLLECTION/ALAMY

"Extra crispy" chicken may also taste better when fried in this oil. "The flavor is crunchier, and you don't get that feeling of fat coating your mouth," says Ted Labuza, a food scientist at the University of Minnesota. But the oil does have dangerous trans-fatty acids. **What's so bad about trans fat?** It raises one's bad cholesterol, which boosts the risk of coronary disease. A federal dietary panel has recommended that people consume no more than 2 g per day. **Is KFC's food really that unhealthy?** The company

says its products "meet or exceed all government regulations." But as the Center for Science in the Public Interest, the activist group behind the lawsuit, points out, a three-piece extra-crispy combo meal contains as much as 15 g of trans fat—more than a person should ingest in a week. **What are other chains doing?** Wendy's plans to eliminate trans fats from its food; the Cheesecake Factory is doing so already. McDonald's backed down on a promise to cut trans fats and says it's studying alternative oils, as is Burger King. —By Darren Fonda

“When America gives a commitment, America will keep its commitment.”

GEORGE W. BUSH, on a surprise trip to Baghdad, assuring Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki that the U.S. will stand by Iraq's new government as it works to achieve stability

“Stay the course? I don't think so, Mr. President.”

NANCY PELOSI, House minority leader, urging her colleagues to set a timetable for U.S. troops to leave Iraq. The proposal was rejected

“It is important for the human race to spread out into space for the survival of the species.”

STEPHEN HAWKING, astrophysicist, warning that life on Earth could soon be wiped out by global warming or nuclear war

“Whenever I see the weapon I invented to defend my motherland in the hands of these bin Ladens, I ask myself the same question: How did it get into their hands?”

MIKHAIL KALASHNIKOV, Russian inventor of the AK-47, on the rifle's transformation into the weapon of choice for terrorists worldwide

“Lord, I am not worthy that you should enter under my roof.”

THE CONGREGATION, in a new translation of the Catholic Mass approved by U.S. bishops. This pre-Communion prayer is closer to its Latin original than the current "Lord, I am not worthy to receive you."

“It's not rust.”

TIGER WOODS, golfer, explaining his poor form at the U.S. Open last week—the first time in his pro career that he missed the cut at a major. It was his first tournament since his father Earl died of cancer in May.

“Cher, thank you for watching C-SPAN—I think you have better things to do with your life than watch boring old us, but thank you!”

MARY BONO, California Congresswoman and widow of Cher's ex-husband Sonny, after the singer called in to a C-SPAN TV show to voice support for sending more—and better—helmets to troops in Iraq

“I did it with my dad. I'd sit on his lap, and I'd drive. We're country.”

BRITNEY SPEARS, singer, in an interview with NBC's Matt Lauer, on why she drove with her infant son Sean on her lap

For more daily sound bites, visit time.com/quotes

Sources: White House, AP (3), New York Times, BBC, Washington Post, People

Hardheaded?

WEAR YOUR HELMET!

WHEN MOTORCYCLISTS wear helmets, they are less likely to die if they crash—no one disputes that. But should helmets be mandatory? The question came to the fore last week after Pittsburgh Steelers quarterback Ben Roethlisberger, a helmet opponent, crashed his bike, breaking his jaw. Pennsylvania didn't require him to wear a helmet; 30 states have rolled back their helmet laws since the 1960s, and more may follow. Some riders argue that as long as they don't hurt others, the risk is



Police with QB Roethlisberger's mangled motorcycle in Pittsburgh

theirs to take. Others question the efficacy of helmets. Federal standards require that they withstand a crash at 13 m.p.h., and "who drives that slow?" asks Vince Consiglio of American Bikers Aiming Toward Education in Michigan. He says boots and vests are more vital. "If a biker's going down, he's first going to protect his head."

But advocates of laws argue that in 2004 alone, the lives of 671 riders could have been saved if they had worn helmets. They now have an ally in Roethlisberger. "If I ever ride again," he said last week, "it certainly will be with a helmet." —By Kathleen Kingsbury



GO, WARRIORS!

Fans love a long shot. The top underdog this year: Trinidad and Tobago, the smallest nation to qualify, whose gutsy Soca Warriors earned a surprising tie against Sweden.

► COUCH CUP

Want to see the U.S. beat Brazil, be instrumental in the victory and make friends? Play *FIFA 06: Road to FIFA World Cup* online with gamers around the world.



◀ FAN FESTS

All 12 host cities are having nonstop parties, so soccer lovers can experience the Cup even without tickets to a match. Key ingredients: big screens and beer.



IT'S A KICK!

AND IT'S THE MOST wunderbar time of the year for soccer fans as the World Cup rolls on in Germany. The action isn't just on the field. The world's biggest sporting event boasts plenty of spectacle off the field too—and much of it fits right in with this year's warm, fuzzy and oh-so-sporting theme 'A Time to Make Friends.'

—By Hillary Batschelder



DO THE CROUCH

The robot is back, thanks to England striker Peter Crouch's goofy moves, which have spawned an army of imitators in the stands.



◀ SOUNDS LIKE CUP SPIRIT

No World Cup is complete without a cheesy theme tune to bring the crowd together. For Germany '06, it's R&B diva Toni Braxton and quartet II Divo's sticky-sweet *Time of Our Lives*. Get out your lighters!

NOT JUST LION AROUND

The self-declared King of Parties and beasts, mascot Goleo VI—why a lion? we don't know—wants you to have a ball.



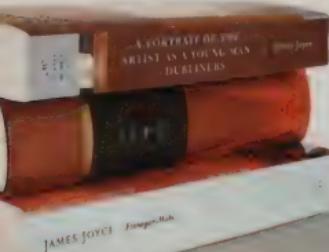
The People v. James Joyce™

Happy Bloomsday! Stanford University professor Carol Shloss marked the 102nd anniversary last week of the epic trek through Dublin by Stephen Bloom, hero of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, by filing a lawsuit. She accuses Joyce's estate and its agent, his grandson Stephen Joyce,

of intimidating her and unfairly preventing her from quoting Joyce's writings and family records for her 2003 book about Joyce's daughter Lucia.

The case—a shy, bookish David against the brash, moneyed heir to a literary Goliath—could affect many scholars. U.S. copyright law

can allow them to quote from sources for research, but Stephen Joyce says the law's scope is narrow. Shloss's attorney, fellow Stanford prof Lawrence Lessig, disagrees. He's working to protect scholars from aggressive tactics like Joyce's. Shloss says she just wants to guard her livelihood: "Why have writers and professors if we can't do our jobs?" —By Clayton Neuman



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NUMBERS

4.8% Increase in the number of murders nationwide in 2005, the first rise in four years

1.9% Drop in rapes—the only violent crime to see a decline in 2005

\$1 billion Estimated amount of government aid lost after Hurricanes Katrina and Rita to fraudulent claims—16% of funds given

13 Different Social Security numbers used by one person to secure \$139,000 in FEMA aid. Eight of the numbers do not exist

80% Fall in the risk of alcoholic cirrhosis that can result from drinking four cups of coffee a day, according to a new study

3.2 Cups of coffee drunk by the average American each day

3 Years in jail to which a Pennsylvania woman was sentenced for telling her 6-year-old daughter to steal a firefighting squad's fund-raising jar

\$1.85 Amount in the jar. The woman, a heroin addict, told police she needed gas money

1,075
Number of boys repatriated last week from the United Arab Emirates—to which they had been smuggled as camel-racing jockeys—under a law requiring jockeys to be at least 18 years old

4 Age of the youngest jockeys



Sources: New York Times (3); USA Today; AFP; AP; AFP; New York Times

SCOTT NEILSON/GETTY

PUNCHLINES



HART HANSON
Newsday

ILLUSTRATION BY HART HANSON FOR TIME.COM



“A man in Las Vegas ate 47 grilled-cheese sandwiches in 10 minutes. A few weeks ago, the same guy ate 50 hot dogs. And guess what? Here's the best part, girls. He's still single.”

DAVID LETTERMAN

“The movie version of 24 is finally in the works. The producers say the main difference between the show and the feature film will be your \$10.” DAVID SPADE



“The White House planned Bush's trip to Iraq in total secrecy: the Prime Minister of Iraq wasn't told, the press wasn't told, even Bush wasn't told. In fact, when he got off the plane in Baghdad, he said, 'Boy, Arizona's hot!'” JAY LENO

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**RELINQUISHING.** Bill Gates, 50,

Microsoft chairman and co-founder; his day-to-day responsibilities running the software giant, as of July 2008; in Redmond, Wash. The move will leave executives Steve Ballmer and Ray Ozzie, whom Gates named to succeed him as chief software architect, to face challenges from competitors like Google that provide user-friendly software over the Internet. Gates, a 2005 TIME Person of the Year, said he plans to focus more on his philanthropic work.

DIED. Neroli Fairhall, 61,

champion archer and the first paraplegic athlete to compete in the Olympics; of undisclosed

causes; in Christchurch, New Zealand. When rival archers at the 1984 Summer Games in Los Angeles complained, wondering whether the New Zealand national champion gained an unfair advantage by sitting in her wheelchair, Fairhall deftly silenced them. "I don't know," she said. "I've never shot standing up."

▼ **DIED.** Luis Jimenez, 65, who with his towering fiberglass sculptures of illegal immigrants, fiesta dancers and ruddy cowboys became one of the most im-



portant artists to depict Latino culture; after a piece of a 32-ft.-tall sculpture he was crafting for Denver International Airport fell as it was being transported, crushing him; in Hondo, N.M. The Chicano artist celebrated working life in energetic pieces like *Man on Fire*—based on the Aztec emperor

DIED. James Cameron, 92, only known survivor of a lynching attempt and founder of the America's Black Holocaust Museum in Milwaukee, a 12,000-sq.-ft. memorial to victims of racial persecution; in Milwaukee. After fleeing a 1930 attempted robbery in Marion, Ind., in which a man was killed, Cameron, 16, landed in jail with two friends, who were publicly lynched on a maple tree near the courthouse. As the noose tightened around his neck, he recalled hearing someone in the crowd shouting that he was innocent—and he was returned to jail for five years. After witnessing the U.S. Senate apologize last June for past failures to ban lynching, Cameron said, "It's 100-something years late, but I'm glad they are doing it."



Cuahtemoc, executed by Spanish colonists for his resistance—which is now in the Smithsonian's National Museum of Art.

DIED. Barbara Epstein, 77, literary

lion who as a founder and co-editor of the *New York Review of Books* worked with—and in many cases,

befriended—writers such as Joyce Carol Oates, Desmond Tutu, Vaclav Havel and Alison Lurie; in New York City. Epstein was a junior editor at Doubleday when she helped produce Anne Frank's *Diary of a Young Girl* in 1952. During a 1963 newspaper strike, she helped launch the *Review* with her then husband Jason Epstein and shared, with Robert Silvers, responsibility of editing it for the next 43 years. Her sharp pencil and abiding friendliness won the admiration of authors as well as readers, and the biweekly became known as a hive of intellectual vigor, ambitious writing and unapologetically liberal views.

DIED. Gyorgy Ligeti, 83, Hungari-

an avant-garde composer who—in spite of his staunch refusal to seek popular acceptance—gained global fame when, unknown to him, Stanley Kubrick used his music in the 1968 film *2001: A Space Odyssey*, giving him a new fan base of trippy, psychedelic teens; in Vienna. As a young composer, he was afraid to write down the modern pieces he heard in his head for fear of government retaliation ("totalitarian regimes do not like dissonances," he wrote). After escaping communist Hungary, he wrote polyphonic, unpredictably paced concertos, chamber pieces and other works, including one opera, *Le Grand Macabre*, which opens with the sound of honking cars and is now one of his best-known works.

By Melissa August, Harriet Barwick, Joseph R. Santo, Amanda Shareghi and Kate Stinchfield

YEARS AGO
IN TIME

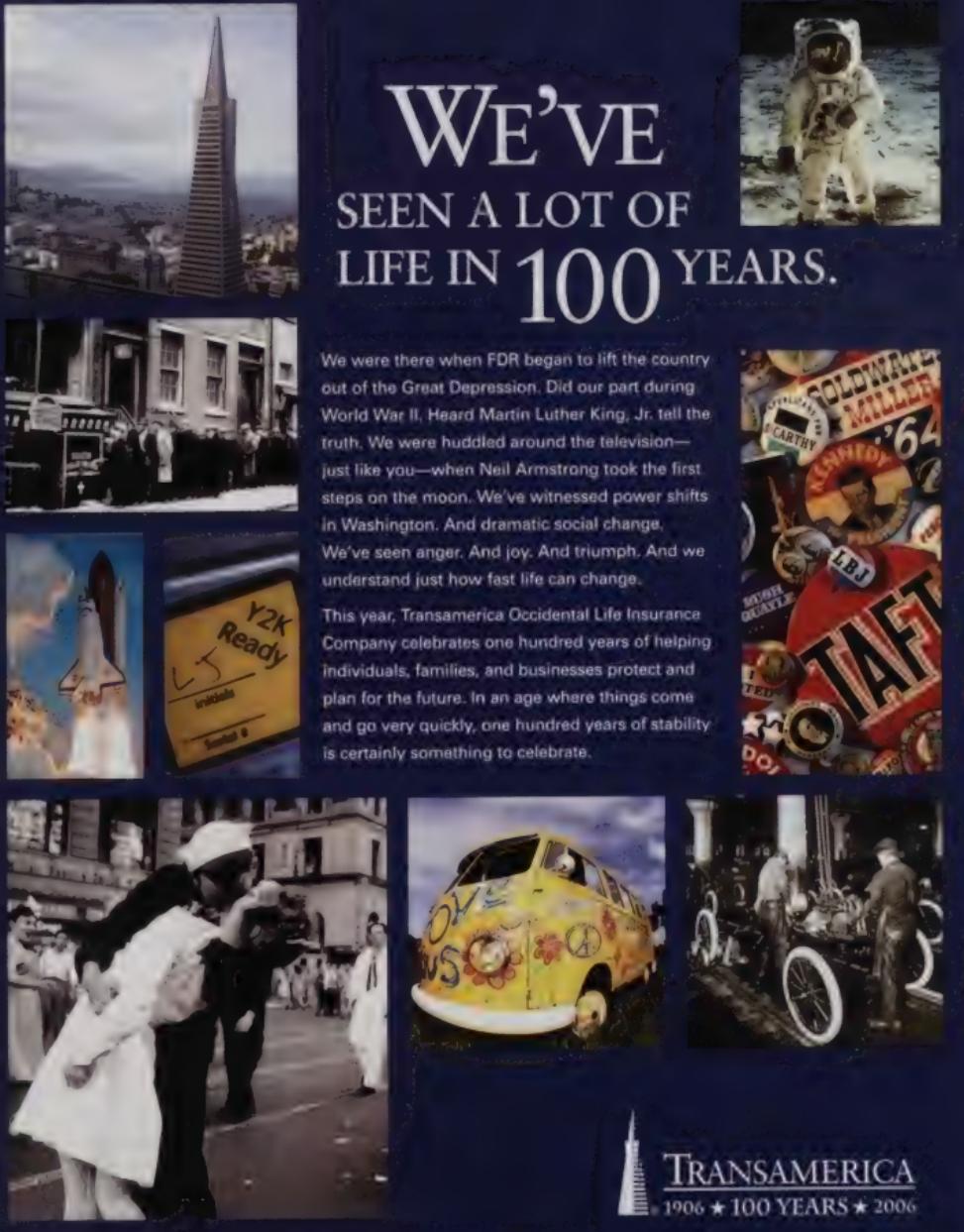
Robert Byrd, 88, became the longest-serving U.S. Senator ever last week, passing Strom Thurmond's mark of 17,326 days. The West Virginian has wielded huge influence in Washington for decades



This year much of what [President] Carter gets from Congress will be largely due to Byrd, a night-school lawyer who is a first-rate legislative technician. His job is to act as the Senate's traffic cop, controlling the flow of legislation and debate. A master of the Senate's rules and precedents, Byrd hustles through an endless round of meetings with committee chairmen, powerful Senate barons and rebellious mavericks, trying to head off trouble... During last year's session, Byrd's first as majority leader, he ran the chamber with a firm and sure hand that had not been seen since the days when Lyndon Johnson was majority leader. Byrd has an intense devotion and dedication to the Senate, and for nearly 20 years he has worked tirelessly and uncomplainingly in its service. In many ways, he personifies its transformation and that of the entire Congress: its insistence on staying free from the Executive Branch's control, its new sense of self-importance and its anxiety about how it is regarded by the American public. **TIME**, Jan. 23, 1978

SPECIAL SECTION: 40 YEARS OF TIME IN TIME

TIME, JAN. 23, 1978



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Joe Klein

Why Bush Is (Still) Winning the War at Home

WAS UP THERE IN THE COCKPIT OF THAT AIRPLANE COMING INTO Baghdad," the President told the press corps assembled on the White House lawn after his dash into and out of the war zone last week. "It was an unbelievable, unbelievable feeling." In fact, George W. Bush's body language—let's call it the full jaunty—was reminiscent of his last, infamous cockpit trip, onto the deck of the U.S.S. *Abraham Lincoln* in May 2003 to announce the "end" of major combat operations in Iraq, beneath a MISSION ACCOMPLISHED sign. His public language is more cautious than it used to be, but he seemed downright frothy in a private

session with the congressional leadership after his press conference. He called the new Iraqi Defense Minister an "interesting cat" and Abu Mousab al-Zarqawi, the deceased al-Qaeda leader, "a dangerous dude."

Bush had reason, finally, to strut. The al-Zarqawi raid had netted valuable intelligence data that were enabling U.S. and Iraqi forces to roll up al-Qaeda cells—the best haul since the capture of Saddam Hussein, which made it possible for U.S. forces to disable much of the dictator's inner circle in early 2004. What's more, the first elected Iraqi government was finally fully in place. Back home, Karl Rove was officially unindicted in the CIA leak case, and the Democrats were busy being Democrats—divided, defensive and confused about the war, with Bush's favorite punching bag, Senator John Kerry, leading the charge.

Kerry gave an eloquent speech to a group of left-liberal activists on the day of Bush's Baghdad trip. "It is not enough to argue with the logistics [of the war]... or the manner of the conflict's execution or the failures of competence, as great as they are," Kerry said, to wild cheers. "It's essential to acknowledge that the war itself was a mistake." It was an appropriate act of contrition, but then—as is his awkward wont—Kerry overreacted and called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops by the end of the year. It was a proposition that garnered all of six votes on the Senate floor when Senate Republicans gleefully submitted Kerry's idea to a vote later in the week.

And so, a mystery: How is it possible—with 2,500 U.S. soldiers dead, no discernible progress on the ground and a solid majority of the public now agreeing that the war in Iraq was a mistake—for the Democrats to seem so bollixed about the war and for the President to seem so confident? A good part of it is flawed strategy. Democrats keep hoping that the elections can be framed as a referendum on the Bush policy, and Republicans keep reminding the public that elections are a choice, not a referendum. Last week, in the opening salvo of the 2006 congressional elections, Bush and Rove were reminding voters that the choice would be between the Democratic strategy of "cut

and run" and the Republican war against Islamic "fascists," as the President called them. It was clear, yet again, that Bush and Rove would surf the complexities of the conflict for their political advantage. "See, Iraq is part of the global war on terror," the President said. "And if we fail in Iraq, it's going to embolden al-Qaeda types." Rove helpfully added in a New Hampshire speech that al-Zarqawi wouldn't have been nailed if we had pulled out of Iraq, as Representative John Murtha, a Pennsylvania Democrat, recommended last winter.

Rove's assertion was scurrilous and inaccurate. Al-Zarqawi had been eliminated through terrific intelligence work and air power, neither of which required a substantial U.S. ground presence in Iraq. The President's line of attack was accurate but lethally incomplete. His poorly planned invasion of Iraq created the atmosphere that enabled al-Qaeda—and the local sectarian conflicts—to flourish. Iraq had become, in small part, a war against al-Qaeda; for the most part, it is a local sectarian conflict—because of American incompetence. If the President had not allowed General Tommy Franks to "cut and run"—

that is, to close his headquarters and begin drawing down the U.S. military presence on May 1, 2003, the very same day as Bush's first cockpit stunt—the U.S. forces might have had a better chance to contain the insurgency. But those are complicated arguments to make in a political campaign. And even the wildest accusations, like Rove's disgraceful Murtha gambit, will force a candidate onto the defensive.

What can the Democrats do? They can play politics or be responsible. The political option is to embrace "cut and run": call for an immediate withdrawal,

as Kerry did; and hope the public is so sick of Bush and sick of the war that it will punish the G.O.P. in the fall. But embracing defeat is a risky political strategy, especially for a party not known for its warrior ethic. In fact, the responsible path is the Democrats' only politically plausible choice: they will have to give yet another new Iraqi government one last shot to succeed. This time, U.S. military sources say, the measure of success is simple: Operation Forward Together, the massive joint military effort launched last week to finally try to secure Baghdad, has to work. If Baghdad isn't stabilized, the war is lost. "I know it's the cliché of the war," an Army counterinsurgency specialist told me last week. "But we'll know in the next six months—and this time, it'll be the last next six months we get."



Approaching Baghdad, Bush rides in the cockpit of Air Force One



To see a collection of Joe Klein's recent columns, visit
time.com/klein



{ ♫ To: Chopin's nocturne in E flat major.
| ♫ From: Frank, who needs to have deep brain
| ♫ stimulation for Parkinson disease.
| ♫ Forgive me.
| ♫ Almost a decade has passed in silence.
| ♫ Because I did not want to shame your melody
| ♫ with my shaking hands.
| ♫ But soon my brain will send tiny electronic
| ♫ notes to my fingers.
| ♫ And they will bend to my will as before.
| ♫ Let the neighbors bang on the walls.
| ♫ For I will play 'fortissimo' all night long.

Hope to hear from you soon,

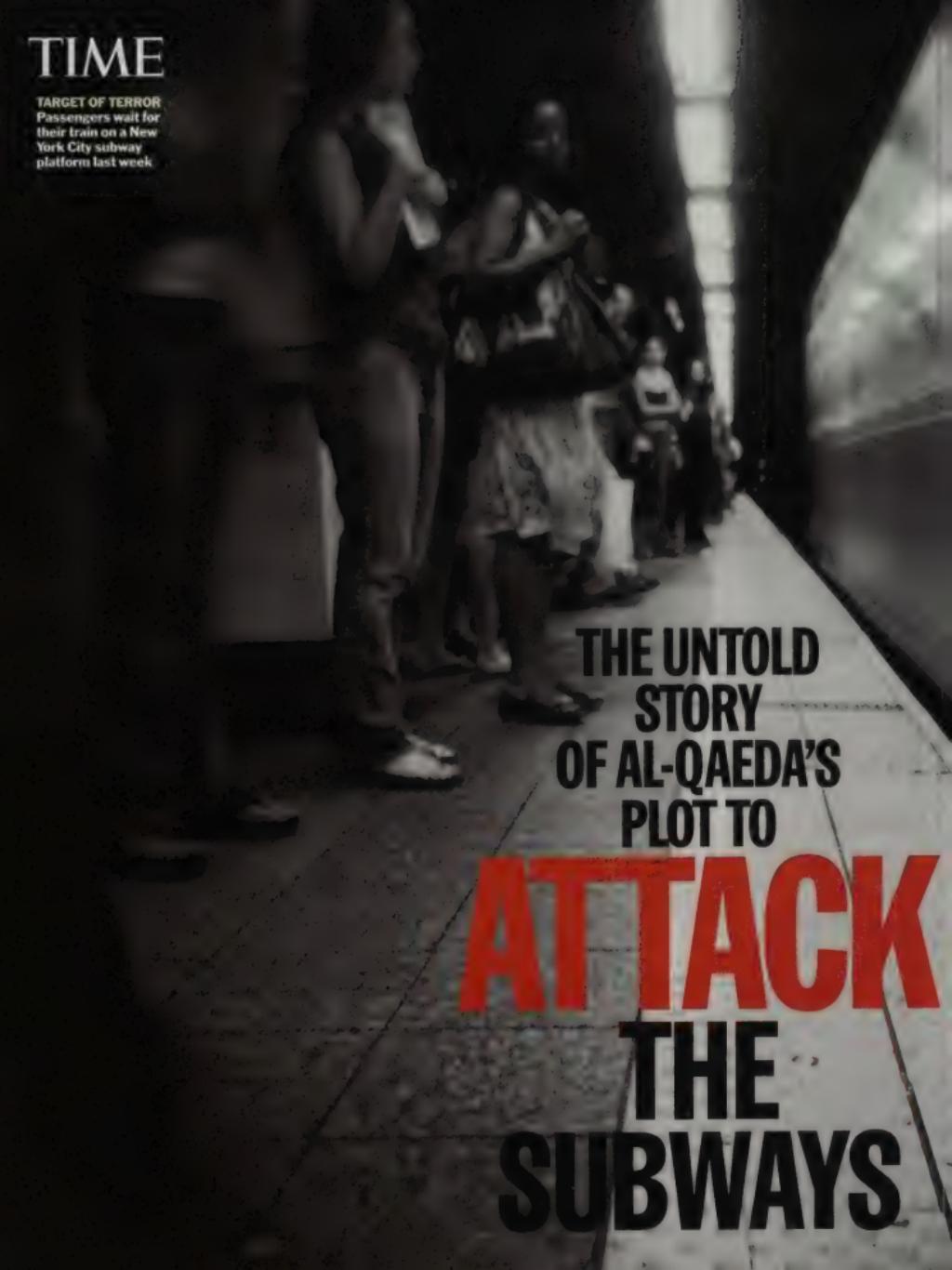
Frank

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TIME

TARGET OF TERROR
Passengers wait for
their train on a New
York City subway
platform last week



THE UNTOLD
STORY
OF AL-QAEDA'S
PLOT TO

**ATTACK
THE
SUBWAYS**



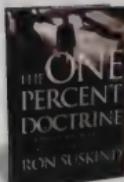
In an EXCLUSIVE BOOK EXCERPT, author Ron Suskind reveals how officials learned about a cell that came within weeks of striking in New York City with poison gas

WO MONTHS HAD PASSED SINCE 9/11, and at the highest levels of government, officials were worrying about a second wave of attacks. CIA Director George Tenet was briefing Vice President Dick Cheney and National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice in the White House Situation Room on the agency's latest concern: intelligence reports suggesting that Osama bin Laden and his No. 2, Ayman al-Zawahiri, had met with a radical Pakistani nuclear scientist around a campfire in Kandahar, Afghanistan. Absorbing the possibility that al-Qaeda was trying to acquire a nuclear weapon, Cheney remarked that America had to deal with a new type of threat—what he called a “low-probability, high-impact event”—and the U.S. had to do it “in a way we haven’t yet defined,” writes author Ron Suskind in his new book, *The One Percent Doctrine: Deep Inside America’s Pursuit of Its Enemies Since 9/11*. And then Cheney defined it: “If there’s a 1% chance that Pakistani scientists are helping al-Qaeda build or develop a nuclear weapon, we have to treat it as a certainty in terms of our response. It’s not about our analysis ... It’s about our response.” Suskind writes, “So, now spoken, it stood: a standard of action that would frame events and responses from the Administration for years to come.”

In the following excerpt, Suskind describes the government’s reaction to information about a different WMD threat: hydrogen cyanide gas. As in the rest of the book, he illuminates the constant interplay and occasional tension between the

EXCLUSIVE BOOK EXCERPT

"invisibles," the men and women in the intelligence and uniformed services actually fighting the war on terrorism, and the "notables," high-level officials who "tell us that everything will be fine, or that we should be very afraid, or both." Suskind, who won the Pulitzer Prize as a reporter at the *Wall Street Journal*, wrote the 2004 best seller *The Price of Loyalty*, an inside look at the Bush Administration. In *The One Percent Doctrine*, Suskind finds that the notables and the invisibles have at least one thing in common: a "profound sense of urgency." TIME's exclusive excerpt:



IN LATE MAY 2002, THE NATIONAL SECURITY Agency had a gift for the CIA, and NSA Director Mike Hayden was on the phone to deliver it. They had as precious a dispatch as any since 9/11.

It was a communication from a designee of Osama bin Laden. The al-Qaeda chief had not used a cell phone or satellite phone since 1998. He was very careful. A ring of deputies, below the level of an Ayman al-Zawahiri or Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, carried messages for him. The United States had determined who some of them were. They made calls, or sent e-mails, on bin Laden's behalf.

One such communication was passed to a mysterious character in Saudi Arabia who—on the intercepted signals intelligence—went by several aliases, the most compelling of which, translated from Arabic, meant "Swift Sword." Two things were clear. Bin Laden seemed to be alive and well and providing guidance from some location in the tribal regions along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border; and Swift Sword was al-Qaeda's representative on the Arabian Peninsula. His hand seemed to be in several places at once in the kingdom, guiding several cells of angry opponents of the regime. The instructions from the top of al-Qaeda: Turn your operational focus toward the overthrow of the Saudi government.

The illegitimacy of the Saudi regime was a favorite subject for bin Laden. His dream was that it, along with regimes in Egypt, Jordan and countries across the region, would be overthrown, and that he would rule a restored Muslim empire, a caliphate, stretching from Tehran to Cairo, from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic. But this communication was not about grand designs and distant dreams. It was an action plan for whom to kill and what targets to hit. Specifically, kill members of the royal family, and destroy the oil fields.

The idea of sabotaging the Saudi oil fields—the world's largest oil reserve—strikes directly at the heart of the uneasy co-dependency of the gulf's oil-producing countries and their avid customers in the developed world. Fifteen percent of U.S. oil comes from Saudi Arabia. The strategic import of bin Laden's dictate was immediately clear to U.S. policymakers. His goal was never the untenable idea of engaging in a lasting struggle with America. It was, rather, to prompt the United States to withdraw its support for various Arab regimes, particularly Saudi Arabia, leaving them vulnerable to uprisings.

Tenet and his briefers informed Cheney and President Bush of the intercepted communications. Then they went to see Saudi



OVAL OFFICE
CIA Director George Tenet meets with the Vice President, the President and White House chief of staff Andy Card in March 2003

ERIC DRAPER/WHITE HOUSE/GTY

Ambassador Prince Bandar bin Sultan. Bandar greeted the delegation arriving at his palatial home in northern Virginia, Tenet and his small band of deputies. They hugged. Tenet is a hugger. He and Bandar have passed countless hours together, trust building, a Tenet specialty.

After brief cordialities, Tenet got down to business. He leaned forward. A concerned look crossed his wide mug. "Bad news," Tenet said. "Bin Laden has changed his focus. Now it's you. It's Saudi Arabia."

Bandar was grim. "Scotch?"

He got some. And they drank Johnnie Walker Blue Label as Tenet delivered the bad news. He described the intelligence.

"Can we see the cable?" Bandar asked.

"Can't," Tenet said. "But I'll tell you everything you need to know."

It was the start of a secret shift in relations between the United States and Saudi Arabia, getting the Saudis off the sidelines and on the field. Bush's meeting with the de facto Saudi ruler, Crown Prince Abdullah, a month earlier, hadn't done it, nor had a stream of U.S. dignitaries arriving in Riyadh, exhorting the Saudis to allow the Americans to interview the families of the 9/11 terrorists or, at least, to provide access to bank accounts that might yield leads to terror financiers. It was fear that moved the Saudis. The oil fields, the function of every equation, were targeted. The House of Saud was under direct attack.

Bandar poured a second glass. "Where do we begin?"

FROM THE ONE PERCENT DOCTRINE BY RON SUSKIND © 2006 BY RON SUSKIND TO BE PUBLISHED BY SIMON & SCHUSTER

They found it on a computer: plans for construction of a device called a *mubtakkar*. It

THE DARK ALLURE OF POISON GAS

The Nazis used it. Aum Shinrikyo tried to, and Ramzi Yousef wanted to. Delivering hydrogen cyanide as a gas has been a particular quest of terrorists for years.



◀ NEW YORK 1993
Before he bombed the World Trade Center, Ramzi Yousef plotted to release hydrogen cyanide into its ventilation system but said he ditched the plan because it was too expensive



▲ EUROPE 1940S
The Nazis used this form of hydrogen cyanide in the gas chambers of their concentration camps. The mass murders there illustrate the lethality of the gas when it is released in a closed space.



● TOKYO 1995
Aum Shinrikyo, a cult, released the nerve gas sarin into the Tokyo subway, killing 12 people, including the man above, and sending about 5,000 to area hospitals

The King Fahd Causeway, connecting the countries

of Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, is seen by many Saudis—both religious and not—as an illicit passage.

It is steel and concrete as metaphor—tied, on one shoreline, to a truce struck between the Saudi ruling family and religious traditionalists in the kingdom. The Saudis get virtually limitless wealth, a healthy chunk of which they share with their dour clerical partners and their Wahhabist accountants. In exchange, the royals receive a stamp of religious approval, as the true protectors of the Holy Sites of Mecca and Medina, as well as an understanding that 25,000 or so members of the royal family can do, more or less, anything they please, while the country's 27 million citizens live under strict religious laws mandating traditional dress, shrouding of women, prohibitions against the consumption of alcohol or premarital sex. Adultery carries a death sentence.

For such indulgences, and countless others, you cross the bridge to the island principality of Bahrain—a country of almost 700,000, with high-rise hotels, a playboy king, a base for the U.S. Fifth Fleet, and significant cash flow from its role as a discreet “service provider” for Saudi Arabia. The lives of Saudis, and Bahrainis, are thoroughly framed by this arrangement, and its attendant hypocrisies. And both suffer the presence of its by-product: groups of stealthy, violent religious purists, graced with many opportunities to feel self-righteous.

One such group was traveling across the King Fahd bridge to-

ward Bahrain on Feb. 13, 2003, when they were picked up by Bahraini police. The United States, specifically the CIA, was behind the arrest. The NSA had picked up calls and e-mails from a cluster of Bahrainis that were troubling—boastful talk of what should be done to infidels, and some problem phrases, such as picking up “honey pots.” “Honey” is often terrorist code for destructive items.

The Bahraini group consisted of five men: two gunrunners of a traditional criminal stripe, and three men with strong jihadist credentials. All were put through the basics of law enforcement procedure that are not necessarily common in their part of the world. Their belongings—cars, cell phones, wallets—were held in a secure place, used to glean further leads, and their apartments were searched.

One of the jihadists, Bassam Bokhwa, an educated fiftyish professional, with computer skills, had visited an apartment in Saudi Arabia. And there, a joint Saudi-U.S. counterterrorism unit, formed after the meeting with Bandar in his study, found a computer. The contents were dumped onto a separate hard drive, which was sent to the United States for imaging—a way to suck out digitalia, encrypted or not.

That’s where they found it: plans for construction of a device called a *mubtakkar*. It is a fearful thing, and quite real.

Precisely, the *mubtakkar* is a delivery system for a widely available combination of chemicals—sodium cyanide, which is used as rat poison and metal cleanser, and hydrogen, which is

is a fearful thing, a delivery system for hydrogen cyanide, which when inhaled is lethal

everywhere. The combination of the two creates hydrogen cyanide, a colorless, highly volatile liquid that is soluble and stable in water. It has a faint odor, like peach kernels or bitter almonds. When it is turned into gas and inhaled, it is lethal. For years, figuring out how to deliver this combination of chemicals as a gas has been something of a holy grail for terrorists.

Ramzi Yousef plotted to release the gas into the ventilation system of the World Trade Center prior to bombing the place in 1993 and couldn't quite manage it. The famous chemical attack by the doomsday cult Aum Shinrikyo on the Tokyo subway in March 1995—the release of sarin gas that killed 12 people and sent about 5,000 to area hospitals—was followed, two months later, by an attempted cyanide gas attack by cult members. A small fire, set in a Tokyo restaurant that ventilated onto a subway platform, was designed to disperse the gas and was extinguished by alert subway guards.

Terrorism experts inside many governments have been on the

terrorism, and his counterpart, "Leon," who heads the analytical side of that same division, went into something just shy of a panic. Leon instantly pulled together a team to make a model of the device that he could eventually test.

At 5 p.m. in Tenet's conference room in early March, Leon waited until everyone was seated. He pulled from a bag a cylinder, about the size of a paint can, with two Mason jars in it. He placed it in the center of the large mahogany conference table, sat back down in his chair. People had heard various things about the recent discovery of a delivery system.

But seeing it was something else.

"Oh, s—" Tenet whispered after a moment.

John McLaughlin, Tenet's deputy, sat forward in his chair—thinking of how easily it might be transported in a backpack, a suitcase, a shopping bag, and how innocuous it looked.

The room fell silent.



THE SAUDI FACTOR
Convincing the Saudi ambassador, Prince Bandar, left, that al-Qaeda was coming after the royals brought better but imperfect cooperation from the Saudis under Abdullah, right, then the Crown Prince

lookout for reports of a solution to these engineering hurdles. Now, the CIA had found it. *Mubtakkar* means "invention" in Arabic, "the initiative" in Farsi. The device is a bit of both. It's a canister with two interior containers: sodium cyanide is in one; a hydrogen product, like hydrochloric acid, in the other; and a fuse breaks the seal between them. The fuse can be activated remotely—as bombs are triggered by cell phones—breaking the seal, creating the gas, which is then released. Hydrogen cyanide gas is a blood agent, which means it poisons cells by preventing them from being able to utilize oxygen carried in the blood. Exposure leads to dizziness, nausea, weakness, loss of consciousness and convulsions. Breathing stops and death follows. (Since blood agents are carried through the respiratory system, a gas mask is the only protection needed. If one is exposed to blood agents, amyl nitrite provides an antidote, if administered quickly enough.)

In a confined environment, such as an office building's ventilation system or a subway car, hydrogen cyanide would cause many deaths. The most chilling illustration of what happens in a closed space comes from a 20th century monstrosity. The Nazis used a form of hydrogen cyanide called Zyklon B in the gas chambers of their concentration camps.

When the plans were discovered on Bokhowa's hard drive, Rolf Mowatt-Larsen, the CIA's operational chief for WMD and ter-

"The man's got to see this," Tenet said, and called the White House to clear a few extra CIA briefers for the next morning's presidential briefing.

Tenet entered the Oval Office first, to prebrief Bush

for four or five minutes. This was common practice: a short confidential primer from Tenet, so Bush could be authoritative and updated when others arrived.

The CIA briefers were summoned from the waiting area. One of them placed the *mubtakkar* on a low table in the sitting area. Bush looked at it. Cheney and the others were seated. The President picked it up—felt its weight. "Thing's a nightmare," he said quietly, almost to himself, and put it down. A CIA briefer went through a dissertation on the device, the technical problems it solved, its probable uses and the long road of trial and error leading to this moment. Everyone just sat in the Oval Office, looking at it—thinking about the era and its challenges, and saying nothing.

After the Oval Office briefing, Bush ordered alerts sent through the U.S. government. Tenet held meetings with the intelligence chiefs. Rolf and Leon showed the device to the relevant people in law enforcement and other intelligence services. The word had to be spread. The device was unstoppable—for people

A CIA briefer placed the *mubtakkar* on a low table. The President picked it up—felt its

walking onto subway cars, railroad trains or through crowded, enclosed areas of any kind. Selective awareness, under intense standards of secrecy, seemed to be the only response.

In the world of terrorist weaponry, this was the equivalent of splitting the atom. Obtain a few widely available chemicals, and you could construct it with a trip to Home Depot and then kill everyone in the store.

Bahraini police found a phone number

in Bokhowa's records that led to an address in Saudi Arabia. Three men were arrested in Riyadh. They were part of a diffuse community of radical Islamic activists in the kingdom. Beyond their connection to the Bahrainis, the Saudi trio was connected to another threesome of jihadists in the kingdom. They were arrested as well. All of these actions were handled under the supervision and encouragement of the CIA, which had large stations in both countries. This investigation was now a priority. Finding the *mubtakkar* designs in Bokhowa's computer had ensured that.

But getting action from the Saudis, even now, nine months after Tenet had delivered his warnings to Prince Bandar, was anything but easy. Interrogations commenced. CIA operatives could only stand on the sidelines. The questions posed to the prisoners—both the Bahraini group and the two sets of captives in Saudi Arabia—were pointed. Yet compared with what was happening to captured al-Qaeda men Abu Zubaydah or Ramzi Binalshibh at "black sites," these interrogations were polite, respectful. The captives were all religious men. Day after day, they praised Allah and talked about their bonds of religious commitment to one another. This is a problem, said one CIA operative on the case. "Some of these guys are looked at almost like clergy. It's hard to interrogate clergy."

Bokhowa was especially savvy. He was too old to be a courier; he was more an analyst than an operator. He had highly placed friends in the country's community of Islamic activists. If there was a wider plot here, it remained out of sight. The Bahraini trio and the two Saudi trios were clearly tied to one another, but where they fit in a broader array of the region's jihadists was unclear. They did not seem to be tightly connected to several other Saudi cells that were being tracked by the U.S.-Saudi intelligence teams. Nor did they seem connected to the mysterious Swift Sword, who had appeared numerous times on cables picked up by the NSA and seemed to be running matters on the peninsula.

The President, each morning, would ask Tenet, "What've you got on the *mubtakkar*?"

Tenet would reply, "Not much more, but we're doing anything we can to pin down who these guys are."

In the middle of March, as the invasion of Iraq directed the energies and focus of the Administration, CIA chiefs huddled in Langley. They simply had no context for either the trio in Bahrain or the ones in Saudi Arabia. The White House and CIA pressed officials in both countries with a single message. We're on the case. Just don't let these men go free.



INSTRUCTIONS
According to Ali, the U.S. mole in al-Qaeda, above with Bin Laden in a 2001 interview, told al-Ayeri, a.k.a. "Swift Sword," shown below in a mug shot, to call off the gas attack planned for the New York City subways.



It has been generally acknowledged that

the United States has never had any significant human sources—or, in intelligence, humint assets—inside al-Qaeda.

That is not true.

It was, in fact, not true by early 2003. There was a source from within Pakistan who was tied tightly into al-Qaeda management.

Call him Ali.

Ali was, not surprisingly, a complex character. He believed that bin Laden might have made a mistake in attacking America. This was not an uncommon sentiment among senior officials in the organization. It is, in fact, periodically a point of internal debate, according to signals intelligence—picked up in this period. Bin Laden's initial calculation was that either America wouldn't respond to the attacks or that its response would mean the U.S. Army would soon be sinking in an Afghan quagmire. That, of course, did not occur. U.S. forces—despite the mishap of letting bin Laden, al-

Zawahiri and most of the organization's management escape—had managed to overthrow the Taliban and flush al-Qaeda from its refuge. The group was now dispersed. A few of its leaders and many foot soldiers were captured or dead. As with any organization, time passed and second-guessing began.

That provided an opening. The disgruntlement was enough to begin working a few potential informants. It was an operation of relationship building that reflected traditional European spycraft. Build common bonds. Show sympathy to the sources' concerns. Develop trust. While al-Qaeda recruits were ready for martyrdom, that was something its more senior officials seemed to have little taste for. As one CIA manager said, "Masterminds are too valuable for martyrdom." Whatever Ali's motivations, his reports—over the preceding six months—had been almost always correct, including information that led to several captures.

Now, in late March 2003, the CIA was in a jam. The Saudis were complaining that they couldn't hold prisoners without some evidence of wrongdoing. The trio directly connected to the Bahrainis, they could hold for only a few more weeks. The other trio, they had already released. They had nothing on them.

It was time to call on Ali.

His handler contacted him through an elaborate set of signals, and a meeting was set up. CIA operatives mentioned to him the

weight. "Thing's a nightmare," he said quietly, almost to himself, and put it down.

names of the captives in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, and the existence of the *mubtakkar* designs.

Ali said he might be able to help. He told his CIA handlers that a Saudi radical had visited bin Laden's partner al-Zawahiri, in January 2003. The man ran the Arabian Peninsula for al-Qaeda, and one of his aliases was Swift Sword. Ali said the man's name was Yusef al-Ayeri. Finally, the United States had a name for Swift Sword.

This brought elation—a mystery solved, a case cracked—and then screams of pain. Al-Ayeri was in the Saudi group that had been released. They had had him. The Saudis let him go.

But what Ali would next tell his American handlers would shape American policy and launch years of debate inside the White House. He said that al-Ayeri had come to tell al-Zawahiri of a plot that was well under way in the United States. It was a hydrogen cyanide attack planned for the New York City subways. The cell members had traveled to New York City through North Africa in the fall of 2002 and had thoroughly cased the locations for the attacks. The device would be the *mubtakkar*. There would be several placed in subway cars and other strategic locations and activated remotely. This was well past conception and early planning. The group was operational. They were 45 days from zero hour.

Then Ali told his handlers something that left intelligence officials speechless and vexed. Al-Zawahiri had called off the attacks. Ali did not know the precise explanation why. He just knew al-Zawahiri had called them off.

Ali then offered insights into the emerging structure of Islamic terrorist networks. The Saudi group in the United States was only loosely managed by al-Ayeri or al-Qaeda. They were part of a wider array of self-activated cells across Europe and the gulf, linked by an ideology of radicalism and violence, and by affection for bin Laden. They were affiliates, not tightly tied to a broader al-Qaeda structure, but still attentive to the wishes of bin Laden or al-Zawahiri. Al-Ayeri passed al-Zawahiri's message to the terror cell in the U.S. They backed off.

Over the next days, teams of CIA briefers, analysts and operatives were in the Oval Office. The President and the Vice President sat in the two wing chairs, each with his back to the fireplace.

"We need to figure this out," Bush said, "as long as it takes. We need to get our arms around this thing."

First, a nightmare delivery system—portable, easy to construct, deadly.

And now, this—evidence of a truly operational attack on American soil, the first since 9/11. *Mubtakkars* in the New York subways? As the questions rose and swirled, in the back of each person's mind ran disaster scenarios, continuous play of panic underground in New York.

The Vice President was intense. "The question is why would Zawahiri have called them off? What does it indicate about al-Qaeda's strategy?"

Bush cut him off. He was more interested in Ali.

"Why is this guy cooperating with us? That I don't understand."

The CIA analysts attempted answers. Many of the questions were simply unanswerable.

Bush became focused on the players. Now that the United States finally knew the identity of Swift Sword, how did he fit? CIA analysts explained a triangle of relationships—and that al-Ayeri

PUBLIC EYE
Signs on the
New York City
subway urge
riders to
report any
suspicious
activity



THE RIGHT TO KNOW VS. NATIONAL SECURITY

TIME FORUM How should the media balance values when it comes to reporting the war on terrorism?

**GENERAL BARRY
MCCAFFREY, U.S.A. (RET.)**

Former U.S. drug czar

In the 10 years since I've been out of uniform, I've been increasingly aware that without an aggressive free media publicizing shortcomings in government, this nation would work ineffectively at its public business. [The press] talking about a generalized vulnerability we have—that trains aren't protected—and railing against it sufficiently is more likely to protect us than put us in peril. If you publish diagrams of network computer

switching, that wouldn't be the case.

DANIEL BENJAMIN

Senior fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies

I remember when I was at the National Security Council working on terrorism issues, the cooperation of another country on issues of rendition was leaked in the press, and as a result that country didn't cooperate with us for quite a while. When you're dealing with a fairly routine thing like rendition, I would hope the media wouldn't run it

Ali spoke of a hydrogen cyanide attack planned for the New York City subways. The cell



BILL BENNETT

Host of the radio show *Bill Bennett's Morning in America*. The reporting from the mainstream media has been shameful and biased. There's a disposition to believe any bad news, whatever the source, and an indisposition to believe the good news, no matter how reliable. The media reward themselves for leaking classified information—which may be a violation of the law—give Pulitzers for that. We're in a war, and I don't think a lot of the media think we're in a war. They think that it's some kind of skirmish, largely contrived by the Bush Administration.

TIMOTHY NAFTALI

Author of *Blind Spot: The Secret History of American Counterterrorism*

I think the media have not played a helpful role. I'm convinced the media have been an unwitting hand-maiden to those who play upon people's fears. If there is a shred of possibility of a dirty-bomb attack, the media will report the possibility without knowing the odds. The media want to be fair to both sides, but they should attempt to get at reality. I'm a threat skeptic. The organizations we're facing now aren't military-like. They're much less organized. The training camps are virtual. I suspect they're much less likely to acquire and deliver WMD than al-Qaeda was in its heyday. I fear we lack public information to have this debate. And without that, we can't figure out if we're in the right spot between security and liberty.

because it does damage national security. If there's a strong *prima facie* case that government is engaging in possibly illegal activity, then the press has a responsibility to go with it.

JAMES BAMFORD

Author of *A Pretext for War: 9/11, Iraq, and the Abuse of America's Intelligence Agencies*

I far more trust the press than I do the Administration with judgment of what should be secret and what shouldn't. How many scandals has the Administration uncovered on its own? It was the press that uncovered Abu Ghraib, the massacre at Haditha, the abuses at Guantánamo. I think the press has been very responsible in the past. When I was at ABC, we always checked with the Administration in power when we thought we had something of concern, and there was usually some way to work it out.

had been captured and then released: "The Saudis didn't know what they had." But having al-Ayeri's identity confirmed helped CIA establish links between al-Qaeda's Saudi chief and the Saudi group that was still in custody. The U.S. cell, whereabouts unknown, was linked to them both.

Bush, in tactical mode, pressed them. "Who came to New York?" and "Are they still here, somewhere?"

The answer from the CIA briefers: "We don't know."

As Bush dug deeper, Cheney moved to reframe the discussion. Did al-Zawahiri call off the attack because the United States was putting too much pressure on the al-Qaeda organization? "Or is it because he didn't feel this was sufficient for a 'second wave'?" Cheney asked. "Is that why he called it off? Because it wasn't enough?"

The destruction tape—still running, unexpressed, in everyone's head—turned toward calculation. Ten subway cars at rush hour—two hundred people in a car—another thousand trampled in the underground in rush-hour panic as the gas spreads through the station. As many dead as 9/11, with a WMD attack spreading a devastating, airborne fear?

Not enough of a second wave?

"I mean, this is bad enough. What does calling this off say about what else they're planning?" Bush blurted out. His eyes were wide, fist clenched. "What could be the bigger operation Zawahiri didn't want to mess up?"

In April 2003, while the world's many eyes were

trained on Iraq, and vivid images of U.S. tanks settled along Baghdad streets, the CIA's analysts and operators were sending urgent messages to the Saudis: something was coming.

The kingdom, with a subpar system of telephone landlines, is the land of the cell phone. And not cell phones that were being judiciously discarded and replaced, a technique of the more skilled jihadist operative. Saudis love their "mobiles." That love meant that the sight was strong.

And deafening. The United States started to discover proof of thousands of militants, sympathetic to al-Qaeda and maybe bent on violence, operating inside Saudi Arabia. Since the warning delivered to Prince Bandar the year before, cooperation between the CIA and Saudi intelligence had broadened. There was still a kernel of distrust—the United States would not show the Saudis its sigint cables—and actionable intelligence it passed along often vanished when it reached the salons of the royal family, whose interests were often inscrutably complex.

Tenet called Prince Mohammed bin Nayef, who runs the country's interior department for his father—the imperious, religious Prince Nayef bin Abdul Aziz, the country's chief of interior and intelligence matters. Operators of the Middle East desk at NSC made calls to mid-rung Saudi officials. Bob Jordan, the U.S. ambassador, was asked by the State Department and White House to talk directly to contacts in Riyadh. The United States didn't know the time or the place—but al-Qaeda's Saudi army was gathering. There was another, companion message. A message pressing U.S. interest: Find al-Ayeri.

Since the Americans had identified the elusive Swift Sword in March as Yusef al-Ayeri, the status of the al-Qaeda operative had risen swiftly. A name will do that. It helps fix identity. First, it was discovered that this al-Ayeri was behind a website, al-Nida, that

had cased the locations. The group was operational. They were 45 days from zero hour

U.S. investigators had long felt carried some of the most specialized analysis and coded directives about al-Qaeda's motives and plans. He was also the anonymous author of two extraordinary pieces of writing—short books, really, that had recently moved through cyberspace, about al-Qaeda's underlying strategies. *The Future of Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula After the Fall of Baghdad*, written as the United States prepared its attack, said that an American invasion of Iraq would be the best possible outcome for al-Qaeda, stoking extremism throughout the Persian Gulf and South Asia and achieving precisely the radicalizing quagmire that bin Laden had hoped would occur in Afghanistan. A second book, *Crusaders' War*, outlined a tactical model for fighting the American forces in Iraq, including "assassination and poisoning the enemy's food and drink," remotely triggered explosives, suicide bombings and lightning-strike ambushes. It was the playbook.

Once it became clear that the writer wasn't some enthusiast looking to curry favor with al-Qaeda but the organization's chief for the Arabian Peninsula, the writings took on predictive import. Al-Ayari was conducting a kind of cyberspace conversation with bin Laden and al-Zawahiri.

And more specific conversations, as well. Tucked inside the sight chatter in April 2003 of possible upcoming attacks inside the kingdom was evidence of a tense dialogue between al-Ayari and another, less senior operative in the gulf, Ali Abd al-Rahman al-Faqasi al-Ghamdi, over whether the Saudi al-Qaeda operation had enough men, weapons and organization to truly challenge and overthrow the Saudi regime. Al-Ayari said no, it was too soon, the organization had not yet matured, while al-Ghamdi strongly recommended pushing forward. Al-Zawahiri, who managed the discourse, sided with al-Ghamdi.

On May 6, the first inkling of trouble surfaced: a gun battle in Riyadh between well-armed terrorists and Saudi security forces. The Saudi government issued a most-wanted list—citing 19 insurgents, including al-Ayari and al-Ghamdi, and adding photographs. Six days later, explosions ripped through an apartment complex on the outskirts of Riyadh, killing 35—including nine Americans—and injuring more than 300. War broke out in the streets of Riyadh, as Saudi forces clashed with well-armed al-Qaeda soldiers.

Events were being monitored by the hour inside the CIA. "Owning Iraq," a country in confusion, with its oil wells shut down, was one matter. The overthrow of Saudi Arabia—the true nexus of oil and Allah, producer of 25% of the world's exported petroleum and, by some U.S. estimates, nearly all of the world's most far-reaching terrorism—was entirely another. At a 5 p.m. meeting in mid-May, the CIA's top management huddled. Tenet, that morning, had been grilled by Cheney about the status of the CIA's investigation of the reputed *mubtakkar* cell in the United States.

"What do we know?" Cheney pressed CIA operatives. "This could be another 9/11. This one we can't miss."

Tenet's response was dispiriting. He told Bush and Cheney that interrogations of both the Bahraini trio and the Saudi trio still in custody had, thus far, yielded nothing. Saudi intelligence said it was keeping track of the whereabouts of the trio that recently had been let go. Short of al-Zawahiri, the only person who could potentially identify the U.S. *mubtakkar* cell was al-Ayari.

Cheney was grim. The priorities were clear, he intoned. Al-Ayari—writing shrewd assessments of Iraq's future, going head-to-head with al-Zawahiri, managing al-Qaeda affairs in Saudi Arabia and, possibly, guiding the only operational WMD attack in Ameri-

INTERVIEW

AND THEN WHAT HAPPENED?

The time frame in Ron Suskind's book is 2001-04. Where did things go from there? In an interview last week with TIME's deputy Washington bureau chief, Mark Thompson, the author answered that and other questions:

After the cyanide plot was discovered, what measures were taken to find the Saudi terrorist cell?

By the time U.S. officials were alerted to what had happened, they also knew that the team had been called off. Some months before that, al-Qaeda had cased the subways. Folks from various law-enforcement agencies in and around New York fanned out in a targeted search for anything suspicious. But they didn't find anything.

What do we know about the fate of the cell?

Al-Zawahiri called them off; he did not call them back. We have no reason to believe that they're not still here.

What's the leading theory about why al-Zawahiri called them off?

What has been concluded for the most part is this: al-Qaeda's thinking is that a second-wave attack should be more destructive and more disruptive than 9/11. Why? Because that would create an upward arc of terror and

anticipation between the second and ostensibly a third attack. That fear and terror is a central goal of the al-Qaeda strategy.

How current is your reporting about the cyanide plot? It is up-to-date as of this morning.

Is the *mubtakkar* device easy to make, once you have the design?

It is fairly easy to make. You need someone only modestly skilled to do it.

Why do your sources think al-Qaeda hasn't used the *mubtakkar*?

Al-Qaeda has a kind of loose, almost entrepreneurial structure with lots of cells in various countries that are semi-independent. I think for a weapon like this, even outliers or wannabes among the world's jihadists would probably do a check-in with the al-Qaeda leadership before they used something that would be viewed as a weapon of mass destruction.

What can possibly be gained by describing the *mubtakkar* device to the public?

All of the leading terrorism experts are clear on one thing: that in terms of protecting America, we are almost never going to know a place or a time of an attack.

ca—might be the most important active member of al-Qaeda. He must be found. As things heated up in the kingdom, calls from the White House and the CIA to the top of the Saudi hierarchy were urgent and clear: Make sure al-Ayari is captured, alive.

On May 31, a carful of young men ran a Saudi roadblock near Mecca. As they passed, the driver threw a grenade at the guards. Saudi security forces gave chase and cornered the men in a building. A standoff took shape. The Saudis called in reinforcements. Overwhelming force was applied to the situation. All the terror-

"Why would Zawahiri have called them off?" Cheney pondered. Eyes wide, fist clenched,



THE AUTHOR
Suskind
argues that
people should
know about the
mubtakkar so
maybe they'll
recognize it if
they see it

So there are plenty of people in the government who feel that this [method] is something that the American people ought to know about. If they know what it looks like, they might be able to spot it if they see it.

Does writing about the al-Qaeda mole Ali risk blowing his cover?

It certainly does not. Ali is unfindable, I am assured, and nothing in this book in any way could be possibly used to reveal his identity. He's no longer an active agent. What Ali knew was known by a significant number of others inside the senior reaches of al-Qaeda. His knowledge is not something that can be traced to any individual. That was very carefully checked with those who are fighting this war on terror. And it certainly doesn't do any harm for al-Qaeda to know that there was a mole inside of it. That creates and feeds internal dispute, dissent and suspicion, which often is poison.

What's the point of your highlighting holes in our protective net?

Al-Qaeda is absolutely aware of the holes in our protective net. I don't think there is anybody inside the U.S. government who doubts that. This book is in no way something that will advantage al-Qaeda.

Your book includes many seemingly verbatim exchanges among officials. Are these approximate quotations?

No. I used quote marks only when more than one source remembered something precisely the same way. And often I would check those quotes later with others. I had just over 100 key sources for the book. Or some of the quotations were written down as transcriptions by someone. There's no New Journalism here.

To pose your own questions to author Ron Suskind, go to timearchive.com/suskind

ists were killed, including a man easily identified from pictures plastered across the kingdom: Yusef al-Ayeri.

In the breast pocket of the bullet-riddled body was a letter from bin Laden. It was an affectionate, personal letter, six months old, congratulating the young man on his good work and on a successful celebration of 'Id al-Fitr, the feast at the end of Ramadan. The letter was now covered in al-Ayeri's blood.

The Saudis put out no press reports in the days following the gunfight. It took several days before they notified the United States. They

never bothered to collect al-Ayeri's personal effects—his cell phone, his address book, the registry of his car, or trace such clues back to an apartment that might be searched.

The news hit hard at CIA. It soon became a metaphor, a Chinese box displaying the dilemmas of the "war on terror." The Saudis—like the Pakistanis, the Yemenis, the Sudanese and so many "dark side" states allied with the United States in the battle—had a way of often disappointing America. Beneath the warm handshakes and affectionate words, there was always that nugget of distrust. Were our interests truly aligned? What were they telling us; what were they withholding? All were ruled by dictators, who, necessarily, view power and their own self-preservation in ways that differ from a democracy.

The U.S., of course, had told the Saudis about the *mubtakkar* discovery, and about the report of an operational Saudi cell with chemical weapons in America. We hadn't told them exactly how we knew. We never told them about Ali, the al-Qaeda inside source in Pakistan, who fingered al-Ayeri. We couldn't because, deep down, we don't trust our friends from Riyadh. As they do not trust us.

But in the urgent days of May, the CIA let on to the Saudis that al-Ayeri might know about the *mubtakkar* cell—and that he might be the only one. In postmortems that roiled through Langley, that last part was seen, maybe, as a misstep. 9/11, with 15 of the 19 hijackers from the kingdom, created the greatest fissure in the long, dime-a-dance waltz between Saudi Arabia and America. The effect of a second disaster—with chemical weapons and a clear link to Saudi Arabia—would be unfathomable.

"It was a bad day. We wondered, Was it an accident that they killed him, or not? The Saudis just shrugged. They said their people got a little overzealous," said one of the top CIA operatives who was fixated on al-Ayeri, hoping he might lead investigators along a Saudi trail to the WMD attack cell in America. "The bottom line: the missing link was dead, and his personal effects, which can be pretty important, were gone. Like so much else when you're dealing with these countries, you're never sure—Was it an issue of will or capability? Just try to sort those two things out."

Tenet brought the bad news to Bush and Cheney at the next morning briefing. Bush was angry. At the very least, he told Tenet, tersely, someone should be sent to Riyadh to get the Saudis to re-arrest the trio that had recently been released. A few days later, Mowatt-Larsen entered the chambers of Prince Nayef bin Abdul Aziz, at the Royal Palace in Riyadh. He knew not to expect much. Meetings with Nayef were often short and nonproductive.

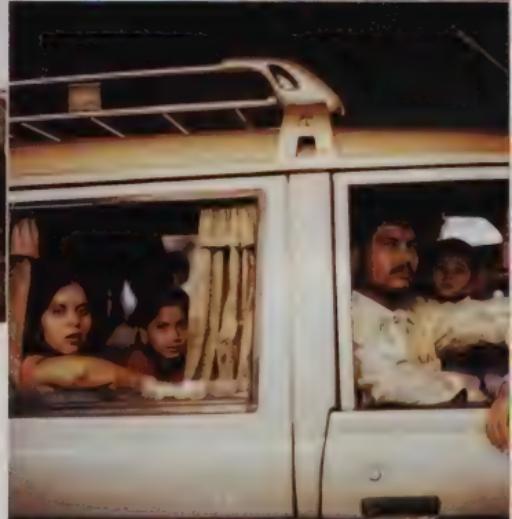
Mowatt-Larsen dispensed with pleasantries. "With al-Ayeri dead, we want you to re-arrest the others and hold them for as long as possible," he said, referring to the other trio.

Nayef nodded. "Fine."

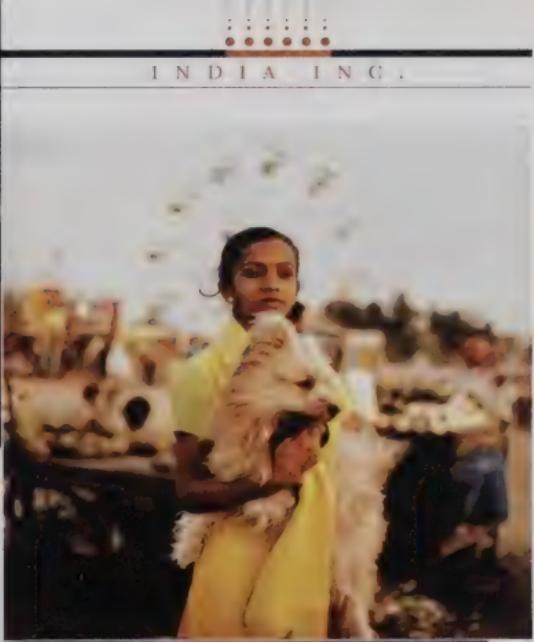
"But," he added, "we cannot hold people indefinitely when there is no hard evidence against them and no charges." After a few more minutes of the lecture—about how important due process and civil rights are to the Saudis—Nayef said they would hold the men for only a few more months. "We're doing this because you are asking us. But if you have any evidence against them, you better show it."

The meeting lasted five minutes. Mowatt-Larsen smiled, a tight, tense smile, then thanked the Prince for his extremely valuable time and cooperation.

Bush asked, "What could be the bigger operation Zawahiri didn't want to mess up?"



INDIA AWAKENS



Fueled by high-octane growth, the world's largest democracy is becoming a global power. Why the world will never be the same **By Michael Elliott**

Photographs for TIME by Johan Rousset—Oeil Public

Even if

you have never gone to India—never wrapped your food in a piping-hot naan or had your eyeballs singed by a Bollywood spectacular—there is a good chance you encounter some piece of it every day of your life. It might be the place you call (although you don't know it) if your luggage is lost on a connecting flight, or the guys to whom your company has outsourced its data processing. Every night, young radiologists in Bangalore read CT scans e-mailed to them by emergency-room doctors in the U.S. Few modern Americans are surprised to find that their dentist or lawyer is of Indian origin, or are shocked to hear how vital Indians have been to California's high-tech industry. In ways big and small, Indians are changing the world.

That's possible because India—the second most populous nation in the world, and projected to be by 2015 the most populous—is itself being transformed. Writers like to attach catchy tags to nations, which is why you have read plenty about the rise of Asian tigers and the Chinese dragon. Now here comes the elephant. India's economy is growing more than 8% a year, and the country is modernizing so fast that old friends are bewildered by the changes that occurred between visits. The economic boom is taking place at a time when the U.S. and India are forging new ties. During the cold war, relations between New Delhi and Washington were frosty at best, as India cozied up to the Soviet Union and successive U.S. Administrations armed and supported India's regional rival, Pakistan. But in a breathtaking shift, the Bush Administration in 2004 declared India a strategic partner and proposed a bilateral deal (presently stalled in Congress) to share nuclear know-how. After decades when it hardly registered in the political or public consciousness, India is on the U.S. mental map.

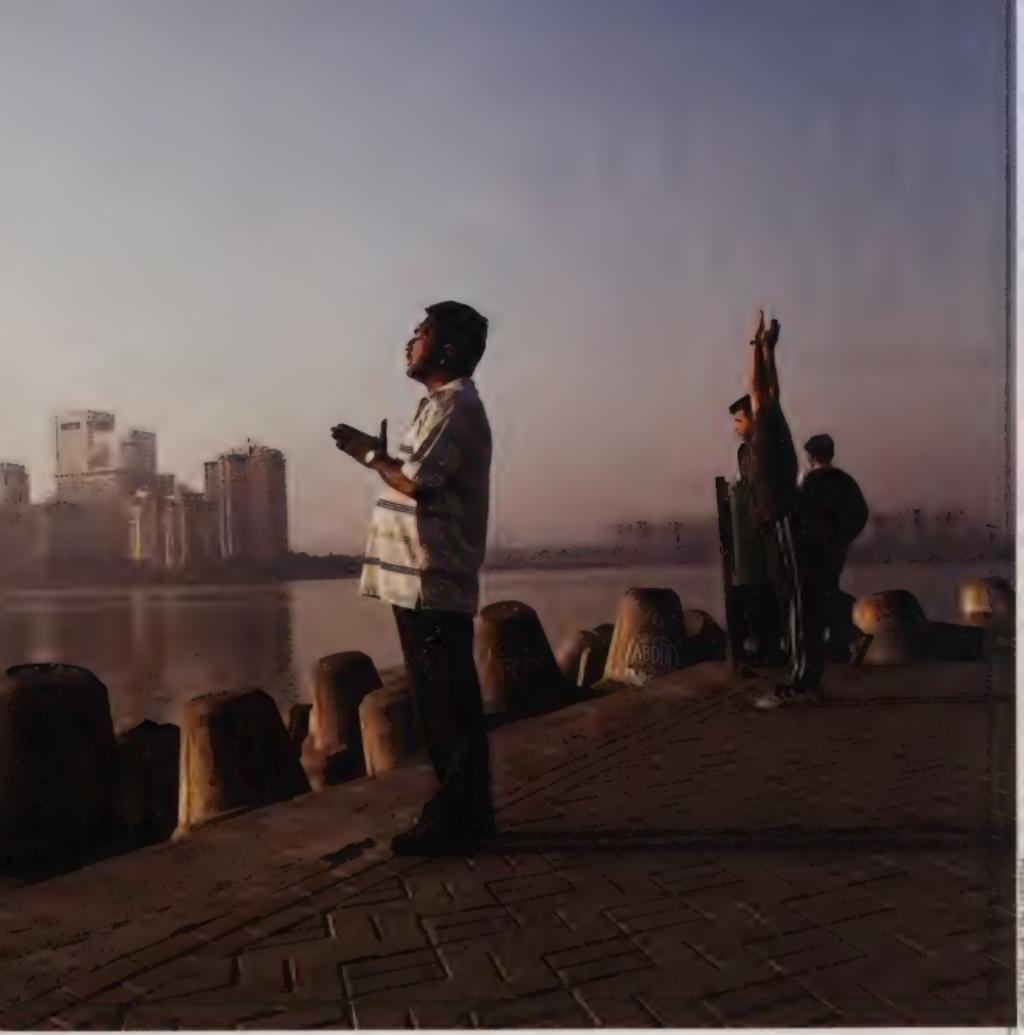
Among policymakers in Washington, the new approach can be explained simply: India is the un-China. One Asian giant is run by a Communist Party that increasingly appeals to nationalism as a way of legitimating its power. The other is the largest democracy the world has ever seen. The U.S. will always have to deal with China, but it has learned that doing so is never easy: China bristles too much with old resentments at the hands of the West. India is no pushover either (try suggesting in New Delhi that outsiders might usefully broker a deal with Pakistan about Kashmir, the disputed territory over which the two countries have fought three wars), but democrats are easier to talk to than communist apparatchiks. Making friends with India is a good way for the U.S. to hedge its Asia bet.

Democracy aside, there is a second way in which India is the



NEW DAWN

With the southern skyline of Bombay rising in the distance, locals perform a range of early-morning rituals on the city's Marine Drive promenade



un-China—and it's not to India's credit. In most measures of modernization, China is way ahead. Last year per capita income in India was \$3,300; in China it was \$6,800. Prosperity and progress haven't touched many of the nearly 650,000 villages where more than two-thirds of India's population lives. Backbreaking, empty-stomach poverty, which China has been tackling successfully for decades, is still all too common in India. Education for women—the key driver of China's rise to become the workshop of the world—lags terribly in India. The nation has more people with HIV/AIDS than any other in the world, but until recently the Indian government was in a disgraceful state of denial about the epidemic. Transportation networks and electri-

cal grids, which are crucial to industrial development and job creation, are so dilapidated that it will take many years to modernize them.

Yet the litany of India's comparative shortcomings omits a fundamental truth: China started first. China's key economic reforms took shape in the late 1970s, India's not until the early 1990s. But India is younger and freer than China. Many of its companies are already innovative world beaters. India is playing catch-up, for sure, but it has the skills, the people and the sort of hustle and dynamism that Americans respect, to do so. It deserves the new notice it has got in the U.S. We're all about to discover: this elephant can dance.

BOMBAY'S BOOM



Brash, messy and sexy, India's biggest city embodies the nation's ambition. How Bombay is shaping India's future—and our own

By ALEX PERRY BOMBAY

THE STREETS ARE WET WITH THE dew of the coming monsoon as Rajeev Samant unveils his latest enterprise in midtown Bombay. The Tasting Room is a softly lit tapas bar built into a high-end furniture store in the old textile district. The idea is to showcase Samant's range of Indian wines in a space that oozes class and cash—with bottles costing twice the

average Indian weekly wage, it's meant to be exclusive. Tonight the guests include local investment bankers, venture capitalists and a group of students from the business school in Fontainebleau, France, on a two-week trip to India to see what all the buzz is about. Over Chenin Blanc and Reserve Shiraz, the patrons swap investment tips and gossip about recent sightings of Richard Gere and Will Smith. "You're so lucky to be here now," says Samant, 39. "This is an incredible

time. It's all happening. Right here, right now."

He's right. If you want to catch a glimpse of the new India, with all its dizzying promise and turbocharged ambition, then head to its biggest, messiest, sexiest city—Bombay. Home to 18.4 million people and counting, the city, formally known as Mumbai, is projected by 2015 to be the planet's second most populous metropolis, after Tokyo. But it's already a world of its own. Walk down its teeming streets, and you'll encounter crime lords and Bollywood stars, sprawling slums and Manhattan-priced condos, and jam-packed bars where DJs play the music of the Punjab, bhangra—a pulsating sound track familiar to clubgoers in London and New York City. Bombay is where Wall Street gets equities analyzed, where Kellogg, Brown & Root

10 WAYS

INDIA IS CHANGING THE WORLD

1 GROWING UP

India's GDP topped \$800 billion in 2005. The economy has grown an average of 8% over the past three years, the second fastest rate in the world.

2

FARMING IT IN

India's Internet-technology industry, which includes other outsourcing services, generated revenues of \$36 billion in 2005, up 28% from 2004.

3

STRIKING IT RICH

A surging stock market has boosted the number of Indian billionaires to 23—10 of whom are new this year—compared with eight in China. India's billionaires boast a combined net worth of \$99 billion, an increase of 60% from the year before.

4

CONSUMING CONSPICUOUSLY

Since 1996, the number of Indian passengers on airlines has risen sixfold, to about 50 million travelers a year, and sales of motorcycles and passenger cars have doubled.

5

PACKING THEM IN

India's \$1.5 billion film industry is the largest in the world, both in number of movies produced and in number of tickets sold. India makes close to 1,000 movies a year, five times Hollywood's output.

6

ATTRACTING ATTENTION

Tourism to India has risen about 20% over the past two years. Some 618,000 Americans flocked to India last year, making up nearly 16% of India's total visitors.

7

EXPORTING TALENT

About 2 million people of Indian descent live in the U.S. The average household income of Indian immigrants in the U.S. is the highest of any ethnic group.

8

PEOPLING THE PLANET

Home to more than 1 billion people, India accounts for one-sixth of the world's population. In less than 50 years, it's expected to be the world's most populous nation.

9

BREWING CRISIS

India has more people living with HIV—an estimated 5.7 million—than any other country.

10

CHALLENGING CHINA

India lags behind China in GDP and foreign direct investment. But India is freer and growing faster—which may well give it the edge over the long haul.

Sources: World Bank; J. N. McKinsey & Co.; PriceWaterhouseCoopers report; Forbes; Government of India

good. The reason is simple: to know Bombay is to know modern India. It's the channel for a billion ambitions and an emblem of globalization you can reach out and touch, a giant city where change is pouring in and rippling out around the world.

But if India's biggest city is its great hope, Bombay also embodies many of the country's staggering problems. The obstacles hampering India's progress—poor infrastructure, weak government, searing inequality, corruption and crime—converge in Bombay. Although India boasts more billionaires than China, 81% of its population lives on \$2 a day or less, compared with 47% of Chinese, according to the 2005 U.N. Population Reference Bureau Report. That class divide is starker in cities like Bombay, where million-dollar apartments overlook million-population slums. For all its glitz, Bombay remains a temple to inefficiency. In 2003 it had one bus for every 1,300 people, two public parking spots for every 1,000 cars, 17 public toilets for every million people and one civic hospital for 7.2 million people in the northern slums, according to a report for the state government by McKinsey & Co. At least one-third of the population lacks clean drinking water, and 2 million do not have access to a toilet.

Whether Bombay's entrepreneurial energy can be directed toward lifting more of its people out of despair will help define the nation's future. The country's pro-growth Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, has said he dreams that Bombay will someday make people "forget Shanghai"—China's financial capital, whose modern gleam is a reminder of the gap between India and its eastern rival. Right now it's not much of a contest. India's GDP (gross domestic product) growth was 8.4% last year vs. 10% for China, while foreign investment in India was an estimated \$8.4 billion, compared with \$72.4 billion in China.

But India does possess one indispensable asset, which has sustained its democracy and catapulted it to the cusp of global power: the ingenuity of its citizens. And nowhere is it in greater supply than in Bombay. "Things just happen here," says Sanjay Bhandarkar, managing director of investment bank Rothschild's India. "Because people have to make things work themselves." The rise of China has been the product of methodical state planning, but India's is all about private hustle, a trait that Americans can appreciate. Rakesh Jhunjhunwala, a billionaire trader in Bombay, says initiative repre-

TICKET TO RIDE

A taxi driver waits for a fare outside Bombay's central train station. Opened in 1887, the terminal is used by millions. Some 4,500 commuters cram trains designed for fewer than 2,000 passengers

sources kitchen staff for the U.S. Army in Iraq, and where your credit-card details may be stored—or stolen. It's where a phone operator who calls herself Mary (but is really Meenakshi) sells Texans on two-week vacations that include the Taj Mahal and cut-rate heart surgery. Chances are those medical tourists will touch down in Bombay, since 40% of international flights to India land here, delivering thousands of new visitors every day—an increasing number of whom are staying for

Land of Opportunity

The world's second most populous country, India faces a host of social problems. But with a middle class that is 300 million strong, the nation is poised to challenge China as Asia's colossus.

Population density per sq. mi. (2.6 sq km)

0 1 10 100 1,000 10,000 100,000 484,262

Source: LandScan 2003/UT Battelle LLC



sents Bombay's—and India's—advantage over its competitors. "It's people who make countries," he says, "not governments."

BOMBAY HAS BRIMMED WITH COCKY entrepreneurs since the Portuguese took possession of seven malarial islands off the west Indian coast in 1534 and called them Good Bay, or Bom Baia. Big talk attracts big crowds, and five centuries of migration have made Bombay the largest commercial center between Europe and the Far East. Nobody actually comes from Bombay. Even families who have lived there for generations still refer to an ancestral village 1,000 miles away as home. That sense of a place apart is reinforced by geography and architecture. You cross the sea or an estuary to reach downtown. And once there, you find a tropical British city of Victorian railway stations, Art Deco apartment blocks and Edwardian offices. Christabelle Noronha,

a p.r. executive who has lived in the city all her life, says the sense of being in a foreign land gives Bombay an uninhibited air. "If everyone is a stranger, then everyone is free," she says.

As the subcontinent's New York City, Bombay is built not on tradition but on drive. "Pull anyone out of any part of India, and put them in Bombay," says Rothschild's Bhandarkar, "and he'll acquire that sense of purpose." India's great industrialists—the Tatas, the Ambanis, the Godrejs—all began in Bombay. The city's stock exchanges account for 92% of the country's total share turnover, and the nation's central bank and hundreds of brokerages and investors have set up their Indian headquarters there, including such global powerhouses as HSBC, JPMorgan Chase and Bank of America. Bombay's port handles half of India's trade, and its southern business district is one of the centers of the global outsourcing boom. India's music industry and much of its media are based in Bombay, as is India's Hindi film industry, Bollywood. Such a concentration of business activity breeds a sophisticated, cosmopolitan outlook—hence Bombay has India's best hotels, bars, restaurants and nightclubs. And every day, according to the official census, hundreds move to the city to seek their fortune.

To migrants from India's poor states, the metropolis is known as Mayanagri, the City of Dreams. To its slums come people from India's villages, hitching rides and dodging train fares, prepared to sell spicy peanuts at traffic lights for a few cents a day and pay \$1 a month to live in a tin hut. For some of them, the principal opportunity the city offers is a life of crime—running bootlegging operations or gambling dens—or renting out the hovels in which millions of Bombay's inhabitants live. Just as for

Bombay's gilded élite, the city is the place to be. "I came from nothing," says a Bombay gangster who grew up in Bihar, India's poorest state and owns 30,000 huts in four slums. "Now I have money, phones, cars, houses, a wife and two girlfriends. If you were me, you'd love Bombay too."

That not to say it's easy to love. If you judge Bombay by governance, it sounds as though the city is falling apart. In a calamity last July that was mercifully forgotten with the advent of Hurricane Katrina weeks later, heavy monsoon rains flooded Bombay for a week as the city's 150-year-old drains and sewers collapsed. At least 435 people died. The infrastructure bears other scars of neglect. In the city's small and ancient stock of trains, each is crammed with an average of 4,500 people, although most have a ca-

IN SEARCH OF THE NEXT BANGALORE

A new word has appeared during water-cooler conversations in offices across the U.S. The term is Bangalore. It refers to India's high-tech hub, and it means your job has just moved to India without you. But in the shifting global labor market, vernacular can quickly become outdated. What is the term for a job that is outsourced to India only to be relayed to China or Romania?

There is none—but one may soon be needed. That's because India, which virtually invented offshore outsourcing, is becoming a victim of its own success. Such companies as Infosys, Wipro and Tata Consultancy Services (TCS) grew into billion-dollar behemoths by tapping armies of quick-coding, English-speaking, low-wage techies to do the soft-

pacity of 1,750. As a result, passenger groups say, an astonishing 3,500 travelers die every year on the tracks, hundreds simply falling from the trains. City rent controls have kept the price of its swankiest apartments almost unchanged since 1940, encouraging landlords to let them crumble—as several blocks do, fatally, every year. Visitors to the most prestigious offices in the country in south Bombay run a gauntlet of homeless people outside. Movie director Shekhar Kapur, who returned after years in London and Los Angeles, says living in Bombay means confronting the class divide daily: "This must be one of the few places on earth where the rich try to work off a few pounds in the gym, step outside and are confronted by a barefoot child of skin and bones begging for something to eat."

Those urban extremes can be hard to take, but locals pride themselves on their pluck and self-reliance. When the floods

hit last year, rescue workers were nowhere to be seen, but shanty dwellers sheltered businessmen, slum children rescued film stars, and untouchables saved holy men. "There was a feeling that went through people," says film producer and director Mahesh Bhatt, who is suing the city for its alleged mishandling of the crisis. "We realized no one was going to descend from

how nimbly the city negotiates those obstacles, he says. "There's no better place to be in business right now."

Five centuries after the first foreigners arrived, Bombay is once again attracting fortune seekers from far away. Yana Gupta's journey began in Brno, Czechoslovakia, in 1988 when she was 9 and her mother Dedenka stitched money and jewelry into her two daughters' clothes and took them on vacation to Croatia. "On the bus on the way back to Czechoslovakia," remembers Gupta, "we got down somewhere and went into some forest. The idea was to get to Germany. But the border guards caught us." The next year, Vaclav Havel led Czechoslovakia's revolution. But Gupta's mother had sown the seeds of escape deep in her daughter. By 15, Gupta was modeling in Prague. By 17, it was Milan. And by 19, she was sharing a model's flat in Tokyo. "It was a great experience," she says. "I was learning English and making money. And when I was 21, I came to India for a vacation, met someone in an ashram, and in two months I married him."

Gupta later separated from her husband. But she stuck with Bombay, and the city quickly became attached to her. She did her first fashion shoot in January 2001, and within three months she was signed as the face of Lakme cosmetics. Today she is India's top model, representing Christian Dior, 7Up and Kingfisher Airlines.



WORKFORCE: Indian workers at a 24-hour call center in Bangalore head back to the phones

ware programming and back-office tasks that U.S. companies used to perform in-house. But Indian salaries are rising—the median annual wage for a software engineer jumped 11%, from \$6,313 in 2004 to \$7,010 in 2005, according to India's National Association of Software and Service Companies (NASSCOM)—and the country's technical colleges aren't producing highly skilled workers quickly enough. So foreign companies are turning to low-cost markets outside India,

like China, the Philippines and Eastern Europe, to do more of their grunt work. "China has much the same resources as us: great pools of talent and a young workforce—and better schools, airports and roads," says Kiran Karnik, president of NASSCOM.

So is Bangalore going bust? Not necessarily. But the competition has forced India's outsourcing giants to look for workers beyond its borders. Infosys, Wipro and TCS have all built outsourcing campuses in China and are

actively recruiting Chinese employees to serve North Asian markets. Infosys has gone one step further by hiring 300 Americans who recently graduated from top universities. They will undergo six months of training in India and then be redeployed around the world. Wipro is considering opening a campus in Vietnam and plans to hire 1,000 bilingual speakers at a new center in Romania to service European clients.

So what's the word to describe someone whose job is outsourced to Romania via India? Wipro's Lilian Jessie Paul likes *globombed*. Sudip Banerjee, president of enterprise solutions at Wipro, prefers *flattened*, with a nod to Thomas Friedman, author of the globalization bible *The World Is Flat*. Says Banerjee: "The jobs will go to those who can do them best, in the most cost-effective manner. Geography is irrelevant." That's something Indians are starting to learn too. —By Aryn Baker/Bangalore

She has an annual calendar and a song-and-dance show, and is a fixture on the gossip pages; a book and an album are up next.

Gupta is the most prominent of the foreigners who have moved to Bombay yet is far from alone. The last official count in 2005 estimated that there were just 30,000 foreigners working in India, but that number is rocketing. Delhi-based market researcher Evalueserve says an additional 120,000 are needed by 2010 to fill the skills shortage in the IT industry alone, and Bombay real estate agents report that foreigners are fueling a run on luxury properties. The reason for the influx, says Gupta, is that anyone in any profession can rise faster and higher in Bombay than almost anywhere else. The author E.B. White said, "No one should come to New York to live unless he is willing to be lucky," which could just as easily be said of Bombay today. Says Gupta: "That's the thing about Bombay. It's the place of possibility."

That promise is luring others home. When Samant left school 20 years ago, any Indian with ambition and means got out, and Samant followed a well-trodden path to Stanford and on to Oracle in California's Silicon Valley. Then in 1991 Singh, at the time the country's Finance Minister, began to open up India, dismantling a creaking socialist command economy that had chained India to poverty and stagnation since independence. Samant returned home with a mad new plan: to make wine in a country where alcohol was taboo and the closest thing to sophisticated intoxication was hooch. Thirteen years later, Samant runs Sula, one of India's largest vintners, producing more than a million bottles a year. And he lives large, employing a chauffeur and a butler, vacationing in Europe and California, and partying every night in Bombay.

India's great hope runs on hope itself. Hope is the reason Gupta stays in Bombay, despite falling ill from diesel fumes each time she crosses the city. Samant says it's why, unlike in New Orleans, the people didn't disintegrate with their city after the floods. Hope brought Bombay together and keeps it together. "Look at Dharavi," he says of the city's notorious slum, the biggest in Asia. "The place has a GDP of \$1 billion a year. Dharavi makes you realize everyone has a stake in keeping Bombay going." One day all those millions of expectations will have to be satisfied. But for now, the City of Dreams is living up to its name. —With reporting by

S. Hussain Zaidi/Bombay



MY LOST WORLD

On a return to his provincial hometown, the author discovers how wealth is uprooting tradition and transforming India's way of life

By ARAVIND ADIGA MANGALORE

THE MAN HAD BEEN WATCHING ME from his balcony for several minutes. He was curious, perhaps even a little worried. Finally, he came to his door and shouted, "What do you want?" I smiled apologetically. "I'm looking for my home," I said. "I think you're living in it."

With a frown, he listened. My family, I explained, had built a home here in the neighborhood of Kodialgutti just before I

left Mangalore in 1991. This was the first time I had come back, and I wanted to see that house again. I had been searching Kodialgutti for half an hour, but I hadn't found it. In fact, I didn't recognize the neighborhood at all. Our house had been built on a paddy field, and you could see it from a couple of miles around. Instead of that paddy field, I now saw shopping malls, colleges, apartment blocks and a giant convention center sheathed in glass. The man's house was the only thing that looked anything like my old home. Had he bought



GENERATION GAP

Young ravers in Mangalore, a sleepy Indian city that is morphing into a modern boomtown

men of all religions were united by shared values of hard work, enterprise and a desire to get out of Mangalore as quickly as possible. My brother left when he was 18. I left when I was 16. Many of those who got out never returned. There was no need to go back because the place never seemed to change.

But the past decade has seen extraordinary change—and extraordinary excess—in Mangalore. The fastest-growing industry is education. During the 1980s, higher education became the only way out of a broken system for many frustrated young Indians. The best doctors and computer engineers had a fighting chance of nabbing a lucrative job offer from Silicon Valley or Manhattan. So boys and girls throughout India streamed into colleges and institutes, where they studied calculus and organic chemistry with a passion that was probably unrivaled anywhere in the world. In recent years, the trend has accelerated. Mangalore had one medical college when I left; it now has five as well as at least four dental schools and 14 physiotherapy colleges. Some 350 schools, colleges and polytechnics are listed in its yellow pages.

A lot of the new colleges, predictably, focus on computer education. They tempt young recruits with the prospect of rewards that would have been inconceivable before the outsourcing boom. A few outsourcing companies, including tech giant Infosys, have opened shop in town. A flood of new money has arrived, thanks to outsourcing jobs, surging real estate prices and expatriate remittances. As a result, many locals have become middle-class, upper-middle-class or even rich. One ad for "premium luxury apartments" promises, IF YOU'RE IN LIMELIGHT, THIS SUITS YOU THE BEST. AND IF YOU'RE NOT, THIS PUTS YOU IN LIMELIGHT.

The city's new affluence manifests itself in subtle ways as well. Leo Fernandes, one of my old teachers, told me, "All the other teachers have bikes. Some even have cars. Only I still walk." Others spoke in a similar manner of a simpler life that was disappearing. I met neighbors, relatives and classmates, and each had done well in some way—one had his own house, another a car. But each also had some sorrow we could hardly have imagined. A Catholic friend's daughter had married a Hindu, and her family no longer spoke to her. A Hindu friend's daughter had been divorced by her husband. Divorce, extramarital affairs, in-

it from my father? "I'm sorry," he said. "I built it myself eight years ago."

He put on a shirt, and together we went looking—in vain—for my house. I told him how bewildered I was by the way Mangalore had changed. It happened so fast, he said. In the beginning he had been proud that Mangalore was becoming a city, but now he gets confused. "Even we wonder sometimes what city this is that we're now living in," he said.

The pulse of India beats fastest in megalopolises like Bombay. But to understand how quickly the economic boom is creating a new country, you have to visit places that few foreigners have heard of—places like Mangalore. Back in 1991, when I left, about 300,000 people lived there. Since then its population has doubled. But that doesn't begin to describe its transformation. A decade of rapid growth has produced shopping centers and high-rise apartments—and most of the construction has taken place in the past five years. Old houses have been uprooted, replaced by bars and restaurants. The city's first multiplex cinema is about to open. A giant Smirnoff poster in the center of town announces, LIFE IS CALLING. In Indian cities like Mangalore, answering that call has brought consequences no one could have foreseen.

Located on India's southwest coast, Mangalore is hot, hilly and carpeted in coconut palms. When I was growing up, young

terreligious marriages, homosexual flings—the doors of experience had swung open in Mangalore. The small city had grown up.

At the Nehru Maidan, an open space in the center of town, I watched kids playing cricket. Among the spectators was a group of drifters and homeless men, some carrying rolled-up mattresses. Most Mangaloreans I spoke with shrugged off the arrival of so many poor people and said they were itinerant immigrant workers, drawn by the construction boom. Nobody, it seemed, was ready to acknowledge that the city might have a permanent underclass that the boom had left behind.

For better or worse, Mangalore's fate is in the hands of outsiders. "Tier 2 cities" like Mangalore are believed to hold the key to the future of the Indian outsourcing industry. With wages rising in big cities like Bangalore and Bombay, tech companies must expand fast in lower-cost cities. But Mangalore shares the problem of other small cities with big aspirations: it's not an exciting place to live. "Lifestyle is a challenge when you're trying to get people from outside to stay here," Sudhir Albuquerque told me. Albuquerque, an Infosys executive, was taking me around the company's Mangalore campus, the most significant tech presence in the city. "There are things you can do here that you can't dream of doing in a big city like Bangalore. For instance, you can still go home for lunch, which I do on most days." But even that may become a thing of the past. Infosys is planning to move to a new, larger campus soon. From there, Albuquerque said sadly, he wouldn't be able to pop home at lunchtime.

Before leaving Mangalore, I decided to visit Court Road once more. For me, that small, steep, winding road—which connects my old primary school, St. Aloysius, to the high school up the hill—is the physical embodiment of a rite of passage. I had gone up this road as a 13-year-old on my first day at high school. From the top of the hill, I had a fine view of the city. Two decades ago, when you stood at a high point like that and looked down on Mangalore, the city's puny buildings all vanished, submerged beneath a canopy of coconut palms. That was when you felt a sense of contempt for Mangalore and dreamed of going somewhere big. But now you see concrete towers with dozens of metal rods sticking out of their sides, as if they were ripping a path for themselves through the trees. You cannot feel contempt for Mangalore now. You feel a sense of awe at how profoundly it has changed. But if you look a bit longer at the scene, you cannot avoid a faint inkling of something like fear.



HOW TO RIDE THE ELEPHANT

Indian stocks have taken a tumble. But here's why the country's long-term prospects remain bright—for Indians and investors

By WILLIAM GREEN

NOT SO LONG AGO, THERE WAS NO surer way to get rich in a hurry than to bet on Indian stocks. Millions of Indians were finally clawing their way into the middle class, creating a new domestic consumer market, while companies in Bombay and Bangalore emerged as global players in everything from outsourcing to pharmaceuticals. Investors went crazy. India's main stock index, the Sensex, has more than tripled in the past three years. One giddy investing show on Indian TV has even dubbed itself *Sensex and the City*.

How hot has India been? Foreign institutional investors poured \$30 billion into the Indian market in three years—double the amount they had invested in the previous decade. Firms like JP Morgan and Fidelity raced to set up India-focused mutual funds. An Indian student at Harvard Business School told TIME that one of the U.S.'s best-known hedge funds had given him \$5 million to invest in Indian stocks—

never mind that he hadn't yet graduated. "The joke going around was that if you had an Indian girlfriend when you were at college in Boston," says Manish Chokhani, director of Enam Securities, one of India's biggest brokerage firms, "you could have stood on a street corner and raised \$200 million to invest in India."

But for investors, much of the fun has stopped. After peaking in early May, the Sensex plunged 30% in a matter of weeks, at one point tumbling 10% in just two hours. "It feels like the hangover after a big party," Chokhani says. Indian stocks rallied dramatically late last week, but for U.S. investors eyeing this mayhem from afar, the Indian market looks as risky as it is tempting. With stock prices down, is this the moment to invest on the cheap in what many believe will be the world's fastest-growing economy over the next 50 years?

Before you wade in, remember that the carnage could get a whole lot worse. Like many markets, India has been badly rattled by fears that the U.S. Federal Reserve and other central banks will keep

RAGS TO RUPEES

Stockbrokers keep tabs on the Sensex at a Bombay trading house

raising interest rates to fight inflation. That could cause global economic growth to slow precipitously—a worry that's causing edgy investors to pare their exposure to Indian stocks. Marc Faber, a renowned emerging-markets investor based in Hong Kong and Thailand, expects a further fall in the next six months as that uncertainty deepens. "In the near term, you have to be cautious," he warns.

Yet the long-term picture remains sunny. "It's like China maybe 15 or 20 years ago," Faber says. A frequent visitor to India since the early '70s, Faber says Bombay alone has changed more in the past four years than in the previous 30, with the sudden emergence of chic restaurants, hotels and stores as the most visible signals of India's new sense of wealth and optimism. And gaps in development provide opportunities for growth. India's infrastructure and housing are ripe for improvement, says Faber, and there's enormous scope for the building of malls and supermarkets.

India also has a younger population than any other major country. According to Ridham Desai, Morgan Stanley's head of Indian equities research, about 125 million Indians will join the workforce in the next decade, and they will be key to the country's growth. Foreign firms will hire legions of them to drive down costs, and their prosperity will fuel demand for stylish clothes, cars and other baubles. Thanks to this demographic advantage, "India will grow faster than the rest of the world," says Desai.

The question for investors is how richly to pay today for a stake in companies that will profit from these trends in the future. The Indian market trades at a 20% premium over other emerging markets, making it too pricey to jump into now, says Adrian Mowat, JP Morgan's chief Asian equities strategist. Jon Thorn, a portfolio manager at India Capital Fund, disagrees. "The long-term case for investing there is without question the best in the world. I'm going around to all my investors saying, 'Now is the time,'" Thorn says. "You need to buy when there are moments of panic." Savvy investors, he says, should stash some of their assets in Indian stocks or funds for the long haul. Faber is even more bullish. "If someone put a gun to my head and said, 'You have to put all your money in India or all of it in the U.S.,'" he says, "I'd choose India." ■

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Mira Nair

Hooray for Bollywood

With Americans embracing our culture, can Indians like me keep it real?

WE WERE GYPSIES, SOONI AND I. TWO SISTERS IN SARIS surrounded by tuxedoed strangers. But instead of taking our Banjara bullock cart to the nearest water hole, we were in a limo en route to the Oscars, where our first film, *Salaam Bombay!*, was nominated as Best Foreign Language Film. It was 1989, before the government even recognized filmmaking as a legitimate industry. Armed with just good wishes and some telegrams from family and friends, we spent a few days in the luxury of the Beverly Wilshire, not really minding that we were neglected by our own country. When it came time for our award, Jacqueline Bisset and Candice Bergen tripped and stuttered through the foreign names. As Jackie and Candy announced the winner in another miasma of mispronunciation, Sooni leaned across and said, "India is still too far."

It was back then. In 1976, when I'd trekked across Radcliffe Yard to the Charles River to meet the person who would become my lifelong collaborator, screenwriter Sooni Taraporevala, we were among only a handful of Indian undergraduates at Harvard. As an Indian filmmaker in New York City in the 1980s, I would ride Greyhound with my documentaries, showing my films to anyone who'd have me. I tolerated audiences who would ask whether there was tap water in India and how come I spoke such good English. Later, raising money for *Mississippi Masala*, starring Denzel Washington, a studio head asked me to "make room for a white protagonist." Back home, my films were also alternative. They were the opposite of Bollywood, and I was an outsider. The publicity campaign for *Salaam Bombay!* was a horse-drawn carriage stuffed with the street kids from the film, re-enacting scenes through megaphones.

My breakthrough was *Monsoon Wedding*—a love song to my Delhi and an ode to *masti*, the Punjabi intoxication with life. I wanted to capture my India, a place that has always lived in several centuries at once, an India of cell phones and peacocks, where housewives play the stock market, Cuban cigars are savored and a marigold-eating tent man reinvents himself as an event manager, only to be undone by love. Lit-



MS. INDEPENDENT The author, on the set of her un-Bollywood movie *Vanity Fair* in 2004, has helped bring Indian culture to a global audience

tle did I know then that people from Iceland to Hungary to Southern California would claim the Vermas as their family and our wedding as theirs.

Today Bollywood is on as many screens in midtown Manhattan as in an Indian neighborhood in Queens. The literary world has learned to pronounce Vikram and Amitav and Jhumpa, and an Amrita Sher-Gil can fetch as much as a Warhol at auction. A click on the Internet instantly conveys the burgeoning scope of South Asian cultural confidence, yielding details of hundreds of art galleries, concerts, readings, plays and indie films. When I was invited back to Harvard for a South Asian night in 2001, I was ushered into a hall brimming with 1,500 heads of shiny black hair. "They'd better be careful," I

joked. "Soon this country will be run by people who look like us."

But why is it that India arrives only when the West says it does? Our movies have nourished half the world for a century, as every Russian cabdriver in Manhattan will tell you. And if the West is now waking up to our energy and confidence, will we be tempted to change? Will Oscar fever mean we temper our spice to suit Western palates? Will the few Indian actors and directors cherry-picked by

Hollywood shove the *khadi* and brocade under the carpet and make chick flicks on Fifth Avenue?

The key to every seesaw is balance. My latest film is based on *The Namesake*, Jhumpa Lahiri's novel of migration and displacement, which is itself a seesaw between two great cities, New York and Calcutta. The film will premiere simultaneously in both cities in November, with a sophisticated marketing strategy and no horse carriages in sight. For my next film, *Gangsta M.D.*, Hollywood will, for the first time, pay good money to buy rights from Bollywood, transplanting to Harlem the beloved story of a Bombay gangster, Munnabhai, who pretends to be a doctor when his parents visit.

The brilliant thing is that there's room for all of us—for our four-hour Bollywood extravaganzas and for my independent work—because we come from a place whose heart is as big as the ocean. And to those who worry about us filmmakers becoming more international than Indian, I say this: It is because my roots are so strong that I can fly.

Indian director Mira Nair lives in New York City. Her latest film, *The Namesake*, will be released in November

Death on the Beach

The killing of a Palestinian girl's family sparks an international outcry. But is Israel really to blame?

By PHIL ZABRISKIE GAZA

THE EXPLOSION HAPPENED IN AN INSTANT. Late in the afternoon of June 9, on a beach in Beit Lahiya, a blast of heat and shrapnel killed seven members of a family who had gathered there for a picnic: Ali Ghaliya, five of his children and his second wife. His first wife and four more of his children were wounded, as were dozens of other people. A Ramattan News Agency cameraman rode to the scene with an ambulance. After arriving, he filmed Huda Ghaliya, 10, stumbling through the carnage, wailing and beating

air strike killed 11 people, including two militants.

Yet even as the violence escalated, the truth about what happened on June 9 remains elusive. Israeli officials initially expressed sorrow over the incident and halted shelling in the area pending an internal investigation of the incident. But last week the Israelis revealed that a probe led by Major General Meir Kalifi has absolved Israel of blame. According to Kalifi, the Israel Defense Forces (I.D.F.), on the basis of aerial surveillance, have fixed the time of the explosion at between 4:57 p.m. and 5:10 p.m. In response to Qassam rocket at-



her chest, calling out for her dead father.

Within days, that searing image was published around the world, becoming a touchstone for the wider conflict between Israel and the Palestinians—and setting off a rancorous dispute about who is responsible for the deaths in Huda's family. In the immediate aftermath of the blast, Palestinians blamed the deaths on an Israeli shell, and Izzadine al-Qassam, the military wing of Hamas, the Palestinian Authority's ruling party, abandoned a 16-month cease-fire with Israel. In the ensuing series of reprisals, rockets fired into Israel by Palestinian militants injured one Israeli civilian, and an Israeli

tack by Palestinian militants, the I.D.F. fired six artillery shells toward the beach from 4:32 to 4:51, which would make it almost impossible for one of them to have caused the explosion. The report also found that a piece of shrapnel taken from the body of one of the wounded, who was being treated at an Israeli hospital, did not match the 155-mm shells the I.D.F. use. "I state clearly that we still regret the incident," says I.D.F.'s chief of staff, Lieut. General Dan Halutz, "but we are not responsible for it."

Then who is? Kalifi speculated that unexploded ordnance fired at an earlier date might have caused the blast but that it was

■ TABLEAU OF GRIEF: In the image published around the world, Huda, 10, cries for her father after the June 9 blast



■ EVIDENCE: An Israeli probe says objects found at the site suggest that the explosion was not caused by Israeli shelling

more likely to have been caused by an explosive device manufactured by Palestinian militants and planted at the beach. That hypothesis is disputed by investigators from Human Rights Watch (HRW) who arrived at the scene the day after the incident. According to the organization, witnesses say Ali Ghaliya gathered his family to leave the beach after the first shells hit, to the north. Two survivors told HRW they heard the sound of an incoming projectile and saw a blur of motion in the sky before the explosion. Computerized hospital records show the first patients were admitted at 5:05 p.m.—which, given the time it takes for an ambulance to drive to and from the scene, suggests that the explosion might have occurred during the time the I.D.F. acknowledge they were shelling.

Investigators also discovered shrapnel and pieces of a copper ring that they identified as fragments of a 155-mm artillery shell. HRW senior military analyst Marc Garlasco, a former official at the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency, says, "It's absolutely clear to me that this has to be from a 155 shell." And while it's possible that the shell was planted, the preponderance of head and torso wounds rather than lower-body injuries casts doubt on the theory that the blast came from the ground.

So who is right? The Israeli government is unlikely to reopen the probe or permit another team of independent investigators to examine the evidence. Defenders of the army's practice of shelling Palestinian targets in response to rocket attacks say responsibility for civilian deaths lies with Palestinians who refuse to prevent violence against Israel. But, as other Israelis point out, shelling a densely populated region with imprecise munitions cannot help putting civilians at risk. Huda Ghaliya now lives with her mother and a brother who survived the blast. "She has a masked face, no emotions," says Eyd Sarraj, founder of the Gaza Community Mental Health Clinic. "She will never forget."

BUSINESS

TIME OFF, WITH PAY?

Massachusetts leads a push across the U.S. to give paid family leave to every worker

By KATHLEEN KINGSBURY

EVERY NEW PARENT KNOWS THAT HAVING a baby means weeks without sleep. Should it also mean weeks without a paycheck? That's the stark choice confronting Shannon Thomas, 21, a preschool teacher in southeastern Massachusetts. Her employer, the Boys and Girls Club of Taunton, agreed to hold her job for about six weeks after her June 18 due date but didn't offer any paid maternity leave. "My rent, food, the hospital—those costs aren't going away," Thomas says. So she quit her \$500-a-week job three weeks ago and applied for state welfare assistance. "I'd rather work," she says. "But I had to get whatever help I could."

As Thomas takes her improvised leave, lawmakers in her home state are hammering out what they hope will be a better alternative. The Massachusetts legislature plans to vote this week on a bill that would give all employees in the state 12 weeks of paid medical leave annually—100% of their pay up to \$750 a week and a guarantee to hold their jobs—to care for newborns or sick relatives. If passed, the bill would mandate the most generous paid-leave policy in the U.S.; it is the first of 24 similar proposals pending this year. Family friendly and popular with female voters, most of the bills are enjoying wide, bipartisan support, says Debra Ness, president of the National Partnership for Women & Families. "We're seeing real movement toward more paid leave."

The statewide measures, Ness says, close gaps left by the federal Family and Medical Leave Act, which was once hailed as a pioneering win for families. The 1993 law grants 12 weeks of unpaid leave, but because it applies only to businesses with more than 50 employees, just 62% of workers—and only 24% of those making less than \$30,000 a year—are eligible. (Many new paid-leave bills would apply to all businesses.) Among those who could legally go on leave under the federal policy, the vast majority, 78%, said they couldn't afford to take advantage of it, according to a 2000 survey by the Department of Labor.

The problems revealed by that study galvanized efforts to push for paid leave, but in every state, they have been met with insistent opposition from businesses. Nancy Connolly, owner of Laser-tone, a printing company in Littleton, Mass., with 30 employees, fears that guaranteed paid leave would encourage workers to take longer and more frequent time off, hurting productivity. "A trained, experienced worker will be missing for three months," Connolly says. "That's a real cost." And anything that increases the cost of doing business, says Jim Klocke of the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, could send jobs elsewhere.

Such grim scenarios haven't played out in California, which passed a more limited paid-leave law in 2002. (Employees there can receive 55% of their pay for

six weeks.) According to a May report by UCLA and Rutgers University, workers in California took an average of 4.5 weeks of leave under the new law—half a day more than with unpaid leave.

Even if every worker took the maximum time off, employees, not employers, would bear the cost. The Massachusetts bill would fund those 12 weeks of leave with a mandatory payroll tax of about \$2 a week. Randy Albelda, an economics professor at the University of Massachusetts at Boston, says companies in the state now spend \$370 million annually to support employee leaves by allowing workers to use vacation time or sick days to cover maternity or medical leave.

The new paid-leave bill would eliminate much of that expense and could actually reduce other costs. "This will increase retention, and training and turnover are often the highest costs a company has," Albelda says. Steve Grossman, one of the few business owners to testify in favor of the paid-leave bill, has offered paid leave to the staff of his commercial-printing company for 17 years. "They may leave briefly, but when they come back, they work harder, longer and better than before," Grossman says.

Having quit her job, Thomas won't be eligible for paid leave if the Massachusetts bill passes. Thomas is disappointed but says she hopes to take advantage of it with her second child: "For me, it would have made all the difference." ■

TIME OUT: Chrissy Considine gets paid leave from boss Grossman's Boston printing company to recover from a brain aneurysm

Surviving the New

KILLER BUG

A nasty, drug-resistant staph infection—the kind usually seen in hospitals—is racing across the U.S.

By CHRISTINE GORMAN

JEWUAU SMITH, A 9-YEAR-OLD BOY FROM Chicago, is lucky to be alive. A scrape on his left knee that he picked up riding his bike last October turned into a runaway infection that spread in a matter of days through the rest of his body, leaving his lungs riddled with holes. Jewaua managed to survive, but what worries doctors most about his near-death experience is that it's not an isolated case. The bacteria that infected his knee has become resistant to the most common antibiotics and is on the march across the U.S. It has spread rapidly through parts of California, Texas, Illinois and Alaska and is beginning to show up in Pennsylvania and New York.

"This bug has gone from 0 to 60, not in five seconds but in about five years," says Elizabeth Bancroft, a medical epidemiologist at the Los Angeles County Department of Health Services. "It spreads by contact, so if it gets into any community that's fairly close-knit, that's all it needs to be passed."

This is not bird flu or SARS or even the "flesh-eating bacteria" of tabloid fame. But it

is every bit as dangerous, even if it goes by an uncommonly ungainly name: community-acquired methicillin-resistant *Staphylococcus aureus* (MRSA).

Never heard of it? Neither have most doctors. But major new health threats don't usually announce themselves with press releases. A quarter of a century ago, the world learned about the AIDS epidemic because a health bureaucrat noticed an uptick in prescriptions for treatment of a rare pneumonia. In 1912—more than a half-century before the Surgeon General's report—a New York physician chronicled "a decided increase" in lung cancer, which was considered rare at the time, and suggested that cigarettes might be the cause.

Which helps explain why infectious-disease specialists in the U.S. are so alarmed by the new killer bug. "We're out here waving our arms, trying to get everyone's attention," says Dr. Robert Daum, director of the University of Chicago's pediatric infectious-disease program, who was one of the first to call attention to the rapid spread of MRSA, back in 1998. "People talk about bird flu, but this is here now."

Hospital workers know all about drug-

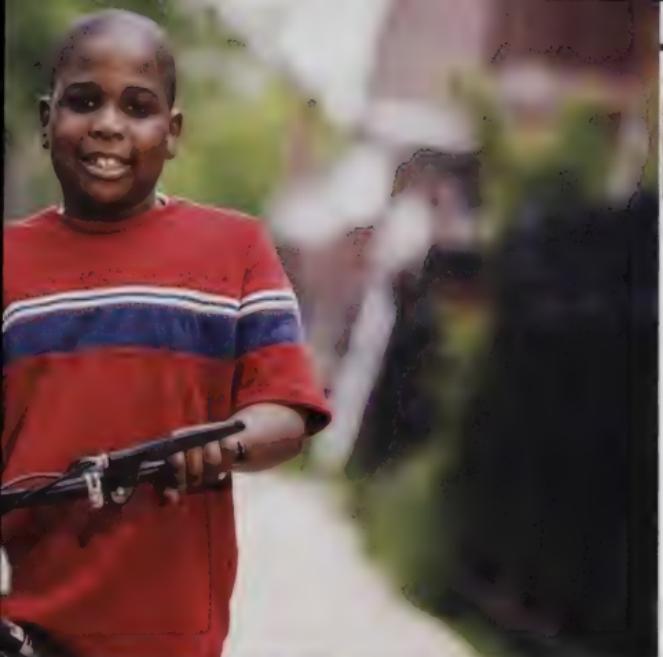
resistant bacteria. Several strains have been making the rounds of the biggest hospitals for the past 15 years or so, often posing a greater risk for patients than the condition they were admitted for. But until the late 1990s, epidemiologists assumed that the problem was restricted to large hospitals and nursing homes.

The MRSA strains turning up in the community at large are related to but different from the ones found in medical institutions. The hospital variety usually requires intervention with powerful intravenous antibiotics and is pretty hard to catch. By contrast, the new strains of MRSA respond to a broader range of antibiotics but spread much more easily among otherwise healthy folks. The bugs can be picked up on playgrounds, in gyms and in meeting rooms, carried on anything from a shared towel to a poorly laundered necktie.

One of the difficulties in tracking MRSA is that doctors rarely check for it. The standard test usually takes a couple of days, and hardly any doctors do it anymore because everyone assumes that most skin infections

WHAT
YOU
CAN DO

Try to avoid cuts and scrapes as much as possible. Wear gloves to protect your hands while gardening, doing repair work or tinkering in the garage.



ALL BETTER NOW
Jewuan was riding a bike last fall near his Chicago home when he got the scrape that caused all the trouble.

IN THE HOSPITAL
By the time Jewuan was admitted, the infection had spread throughout his body, leaving his lungs riddled with holes.

respond to the usual antibiotics. "HMOs aren't going to be paying for you to do a culture on what they consider to be a [common] skin lesion," Bancroft says.

The ubiquity of staph bacteria adds to the problem. The germs are part of the usual microscopic landscape of your outer and inner skin, including the mucus linings of the nose. Most of those bacteria

don't cause illness, and in fact their presence is a good thing, since they can crowd out more dangerous pathogens. But every once in a while, the good guys take a beating, and one of the bad guys, like MRSA, takes hold, colonizing the skin.

Even when that happens, it doesn't necessarily signal an emergency. The skin, after all, is an effective barrier against many kinds

Thoroughly clean even superficial wounds with soap and water. Do not use hydrogen peroxide. Cover wounds with a clean, dry bandage.

Wash your hands regularly and insist that any clinician examining you or a loved one do so too. Soap disrupts many parts of the germ at once, making resistance difficult.

Don't share towels or other linens. Make sure that all laundry is properly washed at 120°F or higher (unless a low-temperature detergent is used) and dried at 180°F.

of threats. But anytime you get a break in that barrier—even a tiny cut—there's a chance some bacteria will get inside and infect the wound. What makes MRSA germs particularly dangerous is that they excrete a potent toxin that attacks the skin, causing an abscess that's often mistaken for a spider bite. Normally, the body can wall that area off. But if the infection spreads, treatment with antibiotics may be called for.

And that's the problem. Doctors have grown used to prescribing antibiotics like oxacillin or cephalaxin in that situation. It's not clear if that long-standing habit helped the bugs grow resistant in the first place. But what is abundantly clear is that those standard treatments are no longer effective.

There's another factor that makes the community-based MRSA so dangerous, one that has been revealed only recently by genetic analysis. In addition to their normal chromosomal DNA, staph and other bacteria like to mix and match genetic information by exchanging short strips of DNA called cassettes. Some of those cassettes carry genetic instructions to do two things at once: confer antibiotic resistance and make the host even more susceptible to infection. "MRSA is where resistance and virulence converge," says Daum.

What epidemiologists still can't explain, however, is how that particular bug manages to get around to so many cities and towns yet has left others relatively unscathed—at least so far. Cases of the new MRSA strain have only just started cropping up in New York City, for example. "We've been waiting for this to happen," says Dr. Betsy Herold of Mt. Sinai. "Now, we're in a unique position to watch it unfold and to find out why it's happening."

Meanwhile, there are things you can do to protect yourself (see box). To prevent more bugs from developing resistance, it's important to remember that not all skin infections need antibiotic treatment, even MRSA. "A garden-variety infection is still a garden-variety infection," says Dr. Philip Graham at New York-Presbyterian's Children's Hospital in New York City. "If your cuts and scrapes are acting like they always do, don't worry."

If, however, you or a loved one is running a high fever, has a lot of redness or shows signs that an abscess is forming, you need to get to a doctor right away. "It never hurts for a patient to say something like, Could this be an MRSA infection?" says Dr. Jack Edwards, chief of infectious disease at Harbor-UCLA Medical Center in Los Angeles. It could make all the difference in the world. —Reported by Wendy Cole/Chicago and Dan Cray/Los Angeles



WHERE LEGENDS ARE BORN

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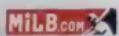
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Robyn Gray,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

\$12.52/hr.

In addition to her rising salary, Gray gets health insurance, paid vacations and personal days off. She helps janitors in other cities lobby for "a living wage."

While some janitors struggle to get by, others are climbing into the

By JEREMY CAPLAN

IT'S 9 P.M., AND CRAIG JONES HAS JUST finished dumping 400 trash cans' worth of garbage into the Cincinnati Textile Building's basement compactor. The weighty refuse he carries each night hardly fazes Jones after five years on the job, but the grime he has to scrub off dirty wastebaskets still gets to him a little. "Wiping spit is a tough thing to get used to," he says. Jones, 27, earns \$6.50 an hour without benefits, vacation time or sick days. His employer, Professional Maintenance, a cleaning contractor, usually schedules him for just four hours a night, five nights a week, so Jones' biweekly paycheck amounts to about \$260, before taxes. The monthly rent for his spartan ground-level apartment in a once industrial part of town is \$215, so there's little left after phone and utility bills and food. He hasn't bought a new piece of clothing in years.

Less than 300 miles away, Robyn Gray is in the midst of cleaning 48 kitchenettes,

dusting 90 conference rooms and scrubbing 40 glass doors at One Mellon Center, a financial building in downtown Pittsburgh, Pa. Although her work is equally grueling, Gray, 44, is paid well, compared with Cincinnati, Ohio, janitors like Jones. For working a 9:30 p.m.-to-6 a.m., 40-hour-a-week schedule, she earns \$12.52 an hour and gets health insurance, three weeks' vacation and three personal days a year. Her \$26,000 annual salary has helped Gray and her husband—who works for a company that erects cell-phone towers—buy their own home, send their two daughters to college and even go on the occasional family vacation—in May they took their first trip to Honolulu, Hawaii.

The major difference between Gray and Jones, say advocates for low-wage workers, is that she lives in a city where janitors are unionized and have collectively negotiated salaries considerably above the minimum wage, what they call a living wage. The living-wage movement has been building steam as outsourcing moves millions of relatively high-wage manufacturing jobs over-

seas, leaving behind less mobile, low-paying ones such as health-care aides, security guards and janitors. But it may have got a new burst of energy when the Change to Win Federation, made up of seven labor unions that split from the AFL-CIO last year to focus more directly on the lives of low-wage Americans, officially launched its first national initiative on April 24. Dubbed Make Work Pay!, the campaign aims to convince the public in 35 U.S. cities that all Americans who work hard deserve to earn a wage they can live on. "Someone working full time should be able to support themselves and their family," says Anna Burger, Change to Win's chairwoman.

The new campaign's supporters range from clergy like the Rev. Damon Lynch Jr., former president of the Baptist Ministers Conference, to politicians like former North Carolina Senator and likely presidential contender John Edwards. "The perception exists that [a living wage] is not a politically popular subject, and that people in general aren't interested in it," Edwards says. "But my feelings now

to Make CENT ING

middle class. Behind the new battle over America's low-wage workers

on the subject are stronger than they've ever been. You can't live on \$6, \$7 or \$8 an hour and have anything to fall back on. Instead of getting ahead, which most families want to focus on, they're focused on survival."

The model Edwards and others want to replicate is the Service Employees International Union's (SEIU) Justice for Janitors campaign, which over the past 20 years has helped to raise wages for workers in 27 cities, including Boston, Houston and Pittsburgh. Last week SEIU organized Justice for Janitors Day, with public protests in cities around the country. One of the key battlegrounds of the new offensive is Cincinnati, which gained 8,400 service jobs in 2004 alone. "It's a crucial test," says Stephen Lerner, head of SEIU's property workers' division. "What happens in Cincinnati is more of a lens into the future of work in this country than what happens in New York City or Los Angeles. It's workers in these smaller cities doing the low-wage work who set the tone for how workers are treated throughout this country." SEIU's primary

strategy is to show how higher wages and job benefits have improved not only the finances of workers like Gray but also the lives of their families and the economic and social welfare of the cities in which they live.

Pittsburgh is its Exhibit A. Once hailed as America's Iron City, Pittsburgh has gone from a manufacturing stronghold to a service-dominated economy, a shift that is evident in its abundance of converted mills. The Homestead Grays Bridge, near the site of the famous 1892 steel-mill strike considered by many to be the birthplace of the labor movement, now overlooks a Filene's Basement and a Barnes & Noble, instead of the towering smokestacks that once defined the city skyline. The first Justice for Janitors initiative began there in 1985. The campaign sparked an 18-month standoff in which employers locked out unionized workers and brought in replacements willing to work for lower wages. The janitors eventually triumphed, and in the years since they have bargained their way to health-care coverage, personal days and

vacation time. When Gray recently told a group of Cincinnati janitors about her wages, health-care coverage and vacation time, "they didn't believe me," she says. "They wanted to see my pay stub."

The city appears to have benefited too. In Pittsburgh neighborhoods with high concentrations of janitors and other service workers, high school graduation rates and home ownership rates have risen steadily over the past two decades, according to Census data. Among janitors surveyed by SEIU, the rate of home ownership had grown to 57% by 2005, an increase of nearly 20% since 1990. Meanwhile the number of families below the poverty line has fallen.

As janitors' wages have risen, salaries for other Pittsburgh jobs have followed suit. Security guards, for instance, working in buildings where unionized janitorial workers are employed, have seen their earnings advance in parallel. Over the past three years, the median household income in the city has grown nearly 3%, from \$39,643 to \$40,699, adjusted for inflation.

**Craig Jones,
Cincinnati, Ohio**

\$6.50/hr.

Jones wears a bandage after being mugged and shot recently after work. He walks home every night because he can't afford a car on his near minimum-wage salary



"You can't live on \$6 or \$7 an hour and have anything to fall back on," says Edwards

And annual janitorial-job turnover, as high as 300% in Cincinnati, is just one-tenth that rate in Pittsburgh. As a result, contractors' costs for recruitment and training are significantly lower. "For a community and its families, wage gains for low-income workers mean the difference between living precariously at the edge of the economy and having a stake in the American Dream," says Beth Schulman, author of *The Betrayal of Work: How Low-Wage Jobs Fail 30 Million Americans*.

Cincinnati shares many attributes with Pittsburgh. Both are Rust Belt cities with midsize populations—314,000 for Cincinnati and 322,000 for Pittsburgh—and workforces similar in size and composition. Each has seen its once mighty manufacturing base crumble, with Cincinnati losing 17,000 manufacturing jobs over the past decade and Pittsburgh 22,600. But they diverge in their treatment of janitors and other low-wage service workers, and living-wage advocates say the results are telling. In Cincinnati neighborhoods like Over-the-Rhine and the West End, where Jones lives, poor wages coupled with high rates of drug use, street violence and truancy have created a cycle of interdependent problems. More than half the adult black males in the two neighborhoods are without full-time work. In the West End alone, 76.5% of the children under 5 are living in poverty, and per capita income is \$9,759 a year.

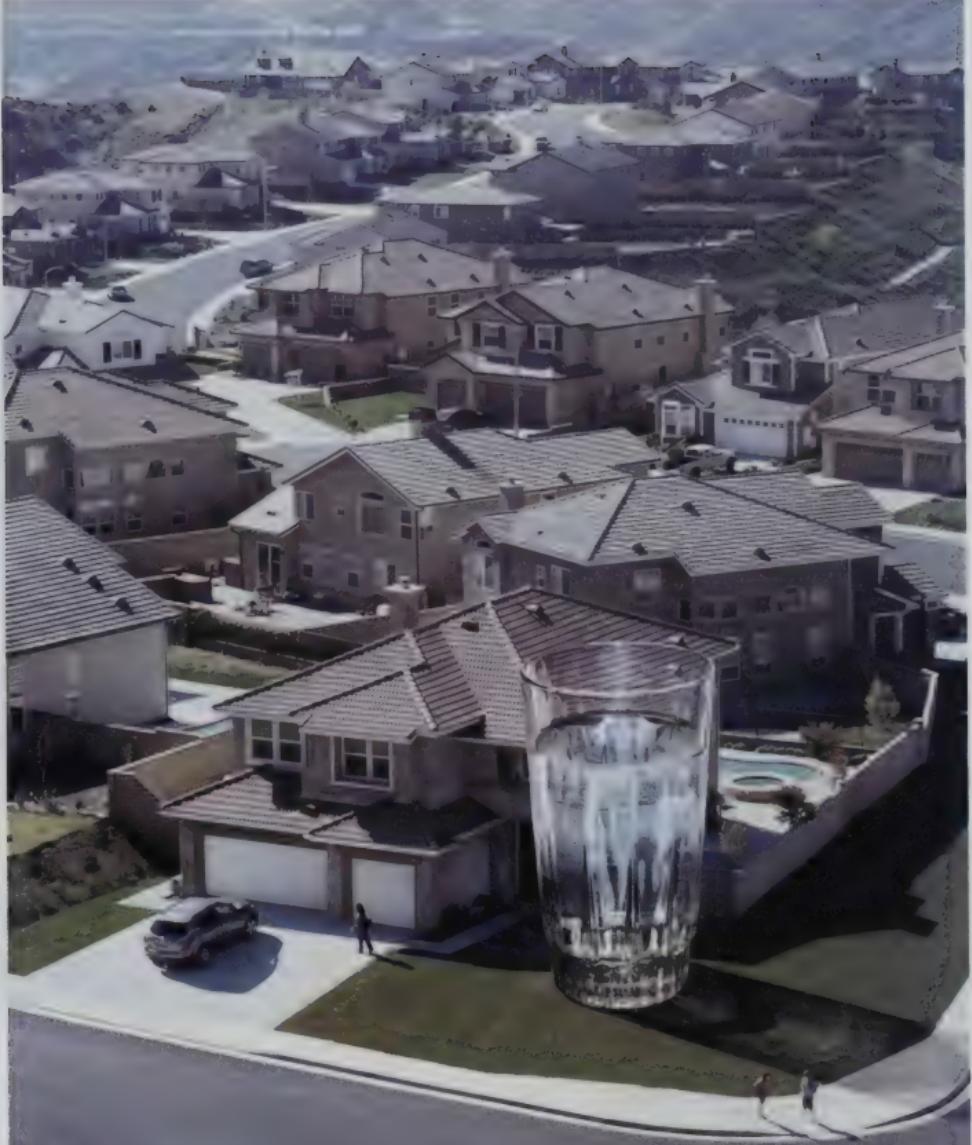
Still, achieving the Change to Win Federation's goals in Cincinnati won't be easy. Opponents of living-wage proposals argue that they will do more economic



harm than good. The Employment Policies Institute (EPI), a Washington think tank known for its industry funding and pro-business positions, released a study in March claiming that a proposed bill to raise Ohio's minimum wage (at \$4.25, one of the lowest in the country) could lead to a \$308 million hit on the Ohio economy and the loss of 12,000 jobs. John Doyle, EPI's managing director, says that state and federal earned-income tax credits and worker training would be more effective in helping low-wage workers rise out of poverty. "If employers are forced to increase wages," says Doyle, "jobs will be eliminated, there will be a decrease in the number of hours worked, and these low-skilled adults may find themselves out on the street."

"They've got high union density, politicians in their pocket and strong community support," says Radford. "But Cincinnati is completely different. It's a tough town for workers."

Craig Jones knows that firsthand. It is 10 p.m., and he is back home after another four-hour janitorial shift. He microwaves a Stouffer's dinner and grabs a Coke from his cabinet, which is mainly stocked with canned corn and some pumpkin filling that Jones got from a food pantry around Thanksgiving. He has been looking for a better-paying job during his off-hours but hasn't found one, so he is pinning his hopes on the Justice for Janitors campaign. "I'm not looking for a handout," he says. "But I feel like I'm stuck."



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Photo by Takeyoshi Tanuma

"...making sure that every child has the best possible start in life...is the only reasonable choice for responsible leadership."

— from UNICEF's *State of the World's Children 2006* report

schooling.



HIV/AIDS is not often thought of as a children's disease, yet millions of children throughout the world are affected by the pandemic. A child under 15 dies of an AIDS-related illness every minute of every day. Most of them got the disease from their mothers—not the kind of inheritance anyone would welcome. But it happens, and the world must deal with it.

To get children to the center of the AIDS agenda, UNICEF has convened a global partnership, "Unite For Children; Unite Against AIDS." The initiative is built around urgent imperatives that can make a real difference in the lives of children affected by HIV/AIDS.

These imperatives include: (1) Preventing mother-to-child transmission of HIV; (2) Providing pediatric treatment; (3) Preventing infection among adolescents and young people; and (4) Protecting and supporting children orphaned and made vulnerable by HIV/AIDS.

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There is hope,
but you have to
look for it.

*A message from pop superstar and
UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador,
Femi Kuti*



The streets are no place for children. Yet as AIDS claims more and more parents throughout Africa, their children are forced onto the streets. I know that life. I see it in Africa all too often. We must do more to protect and support children so they have a better life.

There is hope, but you have to look for it.

Let all of us look into our soul to give every child the hope they deserve.

Femi Kuti

unicef

To support UNICEF, please contact the US fund for UNICEF at 333 East 38th Street, New York, NY 10016 or call 1-800 FOR KIDS. www.unicefusa.org

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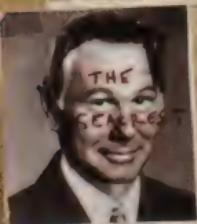
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HOW TO CREATE A HEAVENLY HOST

They talk. They listen. They hold microphones! And they have one of the trickiest jobs in TV.

By JAMES PONIEWOZIK

THIS WEEK, REGIS PHILBIN RETURNS TO PRIME TIME, HOSTING A show called *America's Got Talent* (NBC, Wednesdays, 9 p.m. E.T.). That is ironic, because while America may have talent, Regis does not. At least, he says, that's what he thought when he became a San Diego TV host almost a half-century ago. "I wasn't a comedian or a singer or a dancer," he says. "I didn't have any of the abilities you need to succeed in this business." It wasn't until 1967, when he became second banana on Joey Bishop's late-night ABC show, that the Rat Packer told Philbin he chose him for his special talent. "I said, 'What is it?'" Philbin recalls. "I was on pins and needles. He said, 'You! You are a great listener!' Which was not the answer I was hoping for."

Philbin is being—as much as a man can be who regularly refers to himself in the third person—modest. By one objective measure, he is TV's most successful host ever: he holds the Guinness record for most hours on camera (15,188, and counting). When the aliens who have monitored our broadcast signals invade, they will demand to negotiate the terms of our surrender with Regis. Now the producers of *American Idol* are hoping he will do for their new Ed Sullivan-esque variety competition (one auditioner balances a 300-lb. oven on his face) what he did for another retro summer show called *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*. "Every demographic loves him," says *Talent* executive producer Ken Warwick. "When we bring him onstage, the audience absolutely erupts. He can ask exactly the question that everyone is dying to know and wring as much humor out of it as possible."

Clearly the man is good at something. But what? That's the stumper. Hosting is perhaps the highest-profile job on TV (Oprah, Ellen, Rosie: host, host, host) and the worst defined. It's not comedy, though many comics have done it. It's not acting, though actors have—as well as Tony Danza. There are no host schools. There was no Greek muse of hosting. A host plays himself. He talks to people. Sometimes, if the job is especially tricky, he has to hold a microphone. It is a job that, theoretically, anyone can do but that talented people have done terribly. (Sorry, Roseanne.) So with millions of dollars riding on the choice—and a raft of daytime and prime-time chat and competition shows searching for talent—what is, as Simon Cowell would say on *Idol*, the "X factor" that makes the perfect host?

Or put it another way: What is it that makes a prime-time star out of Howie Mandel, a guy whose claim to fame used to be inflating a latex glove with his nose? Says Mandel, of NBC's *Deal or No Deal*: Part of it is hard work. The comic and former *St. Elsewhere* co-star pooh-poohed the job when it was offered—"I couldn't see myself reading trivia questions off a card"—but one backed-up money truck later, he calls it "the most creative thing I've ever done." Executive producer Scott St. John says Mandel had the background to straddle the show's light and dark moments, as agonized contestants, egged on by briefcase-bearing babes, risk certain cash for a shot at \$1 million. "We wanted someone who could handle the drama and allow those moments to play out," St. John says.

Mandel's sleazy, Luciferian *Deal* persona is not exactly friendly, but it befits a show about sex, greed and temptation. And it's a sign of how hosting has changed since the *Beat the Clock* era. Says Merv Griffin, the former talk-show host and now billionaire talk and game-show mogul: Time was, "you hired an M.C. who every mother-in-law would love." But in the reality-TV era, talk and game shows allow, if not require, more edge. We've gone from Bill Cullen's genial cheerleading to Gordon Ramsay's four-letter culinary arias on *Hell's Kitchen* and Jeff Probst's tribal-council interrogations on *Survivor*. Once Rosie O'Donnell was a Broadway-beltin' ball of sunshine; now she's a pugilistic, out-lesbian activist—which probably made her a perfect choice to join the morning free-for-all on *The View*.

One thing producers agree on: it takes a lot of work and constant alertness to make hosting look like something a well-coiffed orangutan could do. By which measure Ryan Seacrest is the greatest TV personality who has ever lived. "You've got to be able to have the wind knocked out of your sails, like when Simon attacks Ryan, and bounce back," says *Idol* executive producer Nigel Lythgoe. Ur-host Griffin—who once hired Seacrest for a failed game show but is not a producer of *Idol*—gushes over Seacrest's stage-managing of the live show, whiplashing from moments of snark to heartbreak to

Hosts with the Most (and Least)

Besides Howie, Regis and Ryan, hundreds of camera hounds are competing for your attention. We've picked a few of our daytime and prime-time favorites—and a few who make us reach for the mute button

Most



MEREDITH VIEIRA

She's off to *Today* in the fall, but the tart-tongued newswoman made *THE VIEW* saucy and smart



ELLEN DEGENERES

She jokes, she dances, she makes *THE ELLEN DEGENERES SHOW* a fun visit with the celeb next door



JEFF PROBST

Mock him if you want—we have—but *SURVIVOR*'s chief has made himself a stylized, adversarial, essential part of the game



TYRA BANKS

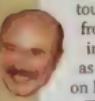
On *AMERICA'S NEXT TOP MODEL*, she's fi-e-e-erce—sassy and savvy about the beauty biz

comedy faster than you can say *Seacrest out!* "Oh, boy, he's terrific," Griffin says. "He conducts thousands of people in the audience, the judges, people onstage. He's an improviser. He's free-wheeling. He does it all."

Sure, it's easy to call Seacrest glitzy and vapid. Heck, let's do it: he is perfect for *Idol* because he so gamely embodies its glitziness and vapidity. Everything about his precision-moussed pate and cliffs-of-Dover grin screams, You are watching a show about *show biz!* But this is why the man can afford the finest hair gels and dentrifices: the successful host is wise enough to be the fool. There are exceptions, like the benevolent and vengeful god Oprah, but America tends to like its TV hosts risible: fussy Alex Trebek, funny-haired Donald Trump, screwball Kelly Ripa. "Being fallible works to my advantage," says Ricki Lake, who has gone from the queen of train-wreck talk to the cheerfully awkward M.C. of CBS's *GameShow Marathon*.

Likewise, Philbin's carefully crafted iras-

Least



DR. PHIL

Does he find it exhausting being right all the time? After an hour of his lecturing, we're ready for therapy



KATIE LEE JOEL

We loved *TOP CHEF*, but her listless hosting style made us want to say: pack your knives and go



CHRIS HARRISON

Every rose ceremony has its thorn. When he's front and center on *THE BACHELOR*, love is bland



TYRA BANKS

On *THE TYRA BANKS SHOW*, she overshadows guests and does more tacky stunts than David Blaine

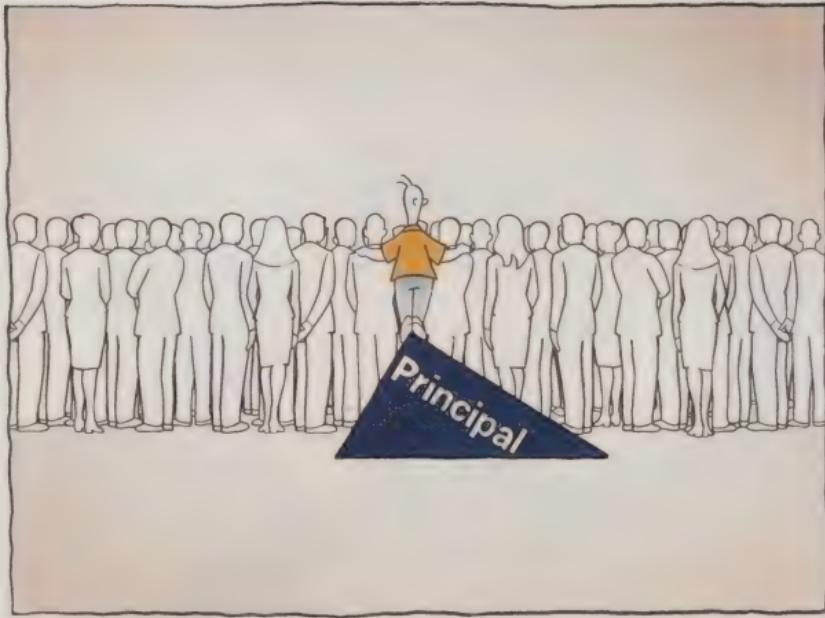
cibility is what allows the wealthy superstar to double as your crotchety 74-year-old uncle. At a recent *Live with Regis and Kelly* taping, he groused about sitting in first class on a flight from Italy, getting clocked in the head by people hauling their luggage to the back of the plane. "Nobody checks bags anymore!" he expostulated, while the audience tourists in sweatshirts still damp from waiting for tickets in a pouring rain—hooted and laughed as a millionaire lectured them on how properly to fly coach.

There is, finally, a Zen paradox to hosting. You must be a celebrity and a commoner; you must be present and absent, ceding your guests the spotlight; you must know what to say and, more importantly, what not to. Several hosts and producers interviewed for this article repeated the importance of "getting out of the way" of the show. Seacrest says that his job is to make *Idol* "clever," but adds, "That doesn't mean I say something clever. I know when Simon is gearing up to say something, I can read it on his face. A host has to allow space for moments to be created."

That may explain why a self-effacing comic like Ellen DeGeneres became a hit and an un-shut-uppable genius like Roseanne bombed. "So many producers have wasted millions of dollars on people who are great talk-show guests but not great talk-show hosts," says *Live with Regis and Kelly* executive producer Michael Gelman. A host must subordinate his or her identity in service of the larger work—what the poet John Keats referred to as "negative capability," although he was talking about verse, not wearing pinstripes and doing product placements for Coke.

Indeed, even Philbin—the guy who does monologues about every dinner he eats and when he hosted *Millionaire* proclaimed, "I'm saving the network!"—finally says the key to the job is remembering that it's not about you. Whether you're talking to George Clooney or a guy with an oven on his face, it's about "putting aside your ego and making your guests better with you than they would with anybody else."

In other words, it's about being a good listener. Turns out that really is a talent. —With reporting by Joanne McDowell/Los Angeles



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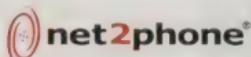
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The Gospel of Superman

The Man of Steel goes godly in a mythic parable that—don't worry—delivers the action-film goods

By RICHARD CORLISS

ABIG SUMMER ACTION MOVIE! ABOUT the very first comic-book hero! From the director of *X-Men!*! The arrival of Bryan Singer's *Superman Returns* is exciting news to three groups: the very young, the perpetually adolescent and those cautious folk in the film industry who believe that the best way to make a box-office bundle is to clone the old Man of Steel story for a new generation of consumers.

It turns out that Singer and writers Michael Dougherty and Dan Harris had excellent reason to re-create the Superman saga, dreamed up in the '30s by Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster and elaborated on in countless comics, movie serials, TV shows and feature films. Singer, Dougherty and Harris went back to the story's premise, reviving it by revising it. Beneath the artifacts of camp and cape, they located a rich lode of myth. Just as important, they resolved to take it seriously. The result is an action adventure that's as thrilling for what it means as for what it shows.

The film is a kind of stepchild to the *Superman* movies of 1978 and '80. Superman (Brandon Routh) has been away from Metropolis for five years, searching for remains of his home planet, Krypton. He's back on Earth just in time, since his very arch enemy, Lex Luthor (Kevin Spacey), has been sprung from prison and has a plan—diabolical, of course—to debilitate Superman using kryptonite crystals and, with the big guy out of the way, make the world miserable and profit from it.

Returning to his cover ID as Clark Kent, *Daily Planet* reporter, our hero has an awkward reunion with Lois Lane (Kate Bosworth), who loved him as Superman but not as Clark. Lois has three new acquisitions: a Pulitzer Prize for her editorial "Why the World Doesn't Need Superman" (clearly, she was in deep

denial over the fellow who deserted her), a boyfriend named Richard (James Marsden) and a young son, Jason (Tristan Leabu).

Who is Jason's father? If you don't want to know just yet, read no further.

But we must discuss it, for this is where the movie displays its impressive ambition and cunning. Earlier versions of Superman

stressed the hero's humanity: his attachment to his Earth parents, his country-boy clumsiness around Lois. The Singer version emphasizes his divinity. He is not a super man; he is a god (named Kal-El), sent by his heavenly father (Jor-El) to protect Earth. That is a mission that takes more than muscles; it requires sacrifice, perhaps of his own life. So he is no simple comic-book hunk. He is Earth's savior: Jesus Christ Superman.

Using snippets of Marlon Brando's performance as Jor-El from the 1978 *Superman* movie, in which Brando passes on the wisdom "The son becomes the father, and the father becomes the son," Singer establishes his own film's central relationship. It is not romantic, between Lois and Clark. It's familial—the bond of two sets of fathers and sons: Jor-El and Superman, then Superman and Jason. Each parent tells his child that he must surpass the old man's feats, improve on Dad's legend. Poignantly, this strength, this divinity, isolates Superman from Earth's humans. He can save them but not be one of them. Lois can love him but never understand him.

The movie cogently ransacks elements from all kinds of myths, classic and modern. Superman is the god who fell to Earth, enduring a cycle of death and transfiguration. And since he has sired a boy who is part human, he could be the Jesus of the Gnostic Gospels. And Lois? Mary Magdalene!

"O.K., O.K.," we hear you saying. "The thing is profound. But is it a good movie?" You bet. Made with precision and vigor, the film never forgets to entertain, packing its 2-hr. 33-min. length with cool visions (like Krypton's crystal cathedral) and spectacular set pieces. Want some pure exhilaration? Check out Superman's midair wrangling of an Air Force jet, maneuvering it back to terra firma to make a gentle belly flop onto a baseball field during a game. And for an intimate intensity not often found in action films, stick around for the creepy encounter involving Superman, Luthor and a stiletto of kryptonite.

The best Hollywood movies always knew how to sneak a beguiling subtext into a crowd-pleasing story. *Superman Returns* is in that grand tradition. That's why it's beyond Super. It's superb.



HEAVY LIFTING Routh, above center, tracks the news with Marsden, Leabu and Bosworth, then suits up and makes his own headlines, below





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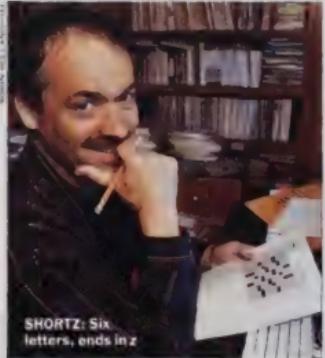
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A Hot New Crop of Docs

THEY ARE THE ANTI-MEGAMOVIES. THE BLOCKBUSTER BUSTERS. THEY boast no big special effects, no \$20 million stars. Yet documentaries have become part of the summer-movie landscape, thanks to the robust business done by *Fahrenheit 9/11* in 2004 and *March of the Penguins* last year. Docs can hit audiences where all the best movies do: in the heart, in the gut. Here are five of this summer's essays in political outrage and personal triumph. —By Richard Corliss



SHORTZ: Six letters, ends in z

WORDPLAY

KEN BURNS SEES THE NEW YORK TIMES crossword puzzle as "a set of boxes in which you practice the wordplay of this particularly exquisite language." Bill Clinton solves his *Times* crosswords as he would a political problem: "You start with what you know the answer to, and you just build on it." Jon Stewart begins a Tuesday puzzle with such confidence, "I'm gonna do it in glue stick."

These eminences (all left-handed; explain) are among the legion of Will Shortz's subjects. Shortz, the *Times'* crossword editor, is a genial gent who since 1978 has run an annual tournament for the sort of people who can finish a Sunday puzzle in 10 min.—in ink. Their number include Ellen Ripstein, a self-described "little nerd girl," and Tyler Hinman, who at 20 could become the tournament's youngest-ever winner.

Patrick Creadon's fizzy documentary uses interviews, tournament lore and some very cunning graphics to capture all the obsessive excitement of word love. The movie screen is a box too, and this film is as smart and funny as its topic and its stars. *Release date: June 9*

THE HEART OF THE GAME

SEATTLE COACH BILL RESLER CALLS HIS Roosevelt High girls' basketball team a "pride of lions." Which sounds simple and uplifting until he explains that in the jungle, female lions leave the males and go prowling to "kill and devour" their foe. His offensive strategy: he has none, instead establishing a pressing defense that exhausts the opponent.

Ward Serrill's feel-good doc, which covers seven years in the life of Resler's Roughriders, is hobbled by a narration so syrupy, it could be poured on pancakes. But the movie soars because of the sport's natural drama (every game seems to come down to a last, desperate shot) and its luck in finding a complex heroine. Darnellia Russell, the rare black girl on a white team, has dimples, drive and enough problems to fill an afterschool special. The film can't help touching on issues of race, child abuse and teen pregnancy, even as it out-Hoosiers *Hoosiers* with a real-life parable of improbable victory. Girls have hoop dreams too. And dreams can come true at the final buzzer. *Release date: June 9*



COACH
RESLER:
With a "lion"



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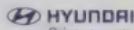


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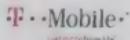


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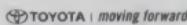


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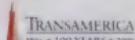
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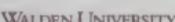
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WHO KILLED THE ELECTRIC CAR?

TOM HANKS TRUMPETED ITS ARRIVAL. ED Begley Jr. mourned its passing. When you realize that the film is narrated by a liberal President of the U.S. (well, Martin Sheen, who plays one on TV), you may suspect that the electric car was another ego trip for Hollywood's preachy leftists. But even Mel Gibson, no liberal, toots the vehicle's benefits. And when you hear the litany—it's clean, quiet and rechargeable at home, and, best of all, it doesn't rely on a prod-

uct found in some of the least stable, most despotic nations on earth—you start thinking maybe it was a good idea. So why did General Motors, having invested a billion dollars in electric cars, not only pull the plug on them but also recall and destroy virtually every one?

Chris Paine's documentary makes an unapologetic case for the car and an unofficial indictment of the forces allied against it: the auto and gasoline industries, an Administration stocked with former executives of oil companies and, not

least, the American consumer, who would rather strut in a gas-gorging Hummer than put-up in a modest little EVI.

Well, that was the '90s for you. Today, with gas at \$3 a gallon and the Japanese showing Detroit how to make a profit from hybrid (gas plus electric) cars, those movie idealists don't seem so silly. It was the rest of us who had our heads in fantasyland.

Release date: June 28



LEONARD COHEN: I'M YOUR MAN

FOR A WHILE IN THE '60S, WITH BOB DYLAN forging poetry from folk and rock music, it seemed possible that more traditional bards might return the compliment and make pop out of poetry. The leading candidate was Leonard Cohen, a Montreal poet and novelist. Cohen wrapped his sepulchral baritone around songs of betrayal and loss that shivered with the bruised romantic's gift of inexhaustible awe. Cohen never became a pop star—others had hits from his lusciously haunting *Suzanne* and *Sisters of Mercy*—but his pieces hung in the mind, like psalms or dirges remembered from childhood.

"I'm not a very nostalgic person," Cohen says in director Lian Lunson's feature-length tribute in words and music. "I neither have regrets nor occasions for self-congratulations." The congratulations come from others: Bono, who

proclaims, "This is our Shelley; this is our Byron"; and a passel of singers (Kate McGarrigle, Rufus Wainwright, Antony, Nick Cave) performing his pieces in concert.

In one of his later tunes, Cohen sings, "Well my friends are gone and my hair is gray/ I ache in the places where I used to play/ And I'm crazy for love, but I'm not coming on/ I'm just paying my rent every day in the Tower of Song." Next to Cohen's castle of music, place this fetching little monument to the bard of rapturous bereavement. *Release date: June 21*



TIME, JUNE 26, 2006

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GITMO
GUYS: The
film version

THE ROAD TO GUANTÁNAMO

IN ANNOUNCING THREE SUICIDES IN THE U.S. detention camp at Guantánamo, Cuba, this month, officials described the inmates in much the same terms President Bush used in 2003 when he said, "The only thing I know for certain is that these are bad people." This, despite the fact that few of the Gitmo detainees have been charged with a

crime, and none has been convicted.

Three such prisoners were British nationals. Ruhel Ahmed, Asif Iqbal and Shafiq Rasul had gone to Pakistan for a wedding. Their timing was unfortunate: September 2001. Their itinerary was disastrous: they wandered into Afghanistan and, through a series of wrong turns, were rounded up with Taliban soldiers. In vain they pleaded their innocence to their captors (Afghan, British and U.S.). Soon,

as they tell it in this mixture of interviews and re-enactments, they were off to Gitmo for two years of physical, psychological and religious abuse. In 2004 they were released, without charges or apologies.

Michael Winterbottom, who co-directed the movie with Mat Whitecross, has fashioned a most adventurous filmography. He has made period tragedies (*Jude*) and comedies (*Tristram Shandy: A Cock and Bull Story*), but his true métier is the political docudrama set in lands scorched by war: Bosnia for *Welcome to Sarajevo*, Afghanistan for *In This World*. *The Road to Guantánamo* is his most unsparing statement yet of war's brutalizing effect on both the prisoner and his jailer.

"It either destroys you or makes you stronger," Iqbal says of his incarceration. "I think it made me stronger." If the movie's remorseless depiction of this nightmare doesn't shock audiences into numbness—*United 93* is a Hallmark card compared with this horror show—they may be inspired by the stubborn bravery of Iqbal and his friends. Documents like this are supposed to open our eyes, even if we would rather shut them to the awful realities on view. **Release date:** June 23

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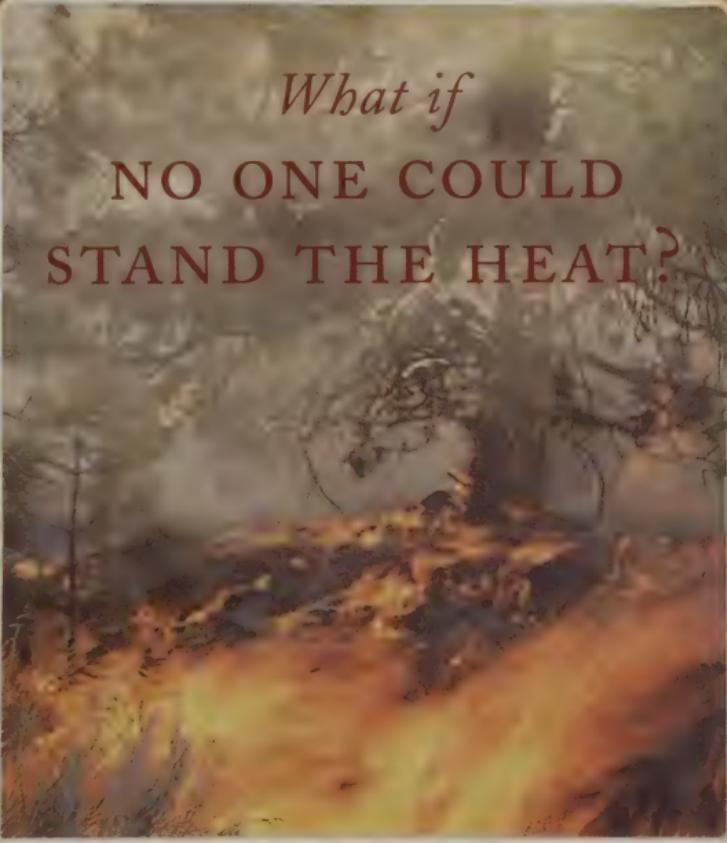


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CITIZEN VINCE

JESS WALTER

VINCE CAMDEN IS 36, single, broad shouldered and thin, like a martini glass. He has made a new life for himself in Spokane, Wash.—where he has been stashed by the FBI's witness-protection program—running a doughnut shop and selling weed and credit-card numbers on the side. His contact in the Spokane Police Department assures him that the mobsters he rated out back East are all dead or dying and don't care about him anymore. So why is there a contract killer in town looking to put a bullet through his eye? Camden will eventually get to the bottom of it, but not before he figures out who deserves his newly recovered vote in the Reagan-Carter election, which is just around the corner. In his third novel, which won this year's Edgar Allan Poe prize for Best Mystery, Walter has created what may be the most charming small-time hood since Elmore Leonard's Stick.

► SLIPPING INTO DARKNESS

PETER BLAUNER

A TOUGH NEW YORK City cop, Francis X. Loughlin has a knack for getting bad guys to give it up in front of the one-way mirror.

Julian Vega was 17 and "as fragile as an egg in a carton" when Loughlin nailed him for the claw-hammer murder of a young doctor. Twenty



5 MYSTERY WRITERS WORTH INVESTIGATING

Hammert and Chandler are dead, but there's plenty of new blood in the genre

years later, Julian, now prison hardened, has been freed on a technicality and is bent on proving he didn't do it.

Loughlin is equally convinced he got the right guy, but his eyesight is failing from degenerative tunnel vision, and the case has taken a bizarre twist: fresh traces of the dead woman's blood have turned up under a new victim's nails. Blauner, winner of the 1992 Edgar for Best First Novel, has written a taut psychological thriller with a pair of conflicted but compelling antagonists and a surprise ending you'll never see coming.

▼ DEATH'S LITTLE HELPERS

PETER SPIEGELMAN

"AS A HUSBAND, HE WAS A LYING, selfish prick," says John March's latest client about the celebrity Wall Street analyst she wants him to track down—not because she misses the creep but because she and her lesbian lover need his child-support checks. The case leads March, a former sheriff's investigator with a dead wife and a shadowy past, into a snake pit of betrayal and double dealing—the paranoid underside of the dotcom boom. Spiegelman worked in financial services and software for more than 20 years before taking up fiction. He knows how thin the air is in New York City's office



towers and what breathing too much of it does to your soul.

THE GIRL IN THE GLASS

JEFFREY FORD

THE YEAR IS 1932, AND DIEGO, 17, a Mexican orphan, has been adopted by a gang of Coney Island, N.Y., con artists. He has been rechristened Ondoo by his mentors and trained to incant Hindu mumbo jumbo during the séances they stage to bilk millionaires on Long Island's Gold Coast. But their scams turn sour when a young girl goes missing, leaving a trail that leads to Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory and the dark chapter of its history that today's gene scientists don't like to talk about. Ford, who teaches literature at a New Jersey community college, studied Mexican repatriation and the eugenics movement to research this Depression-era period piece.

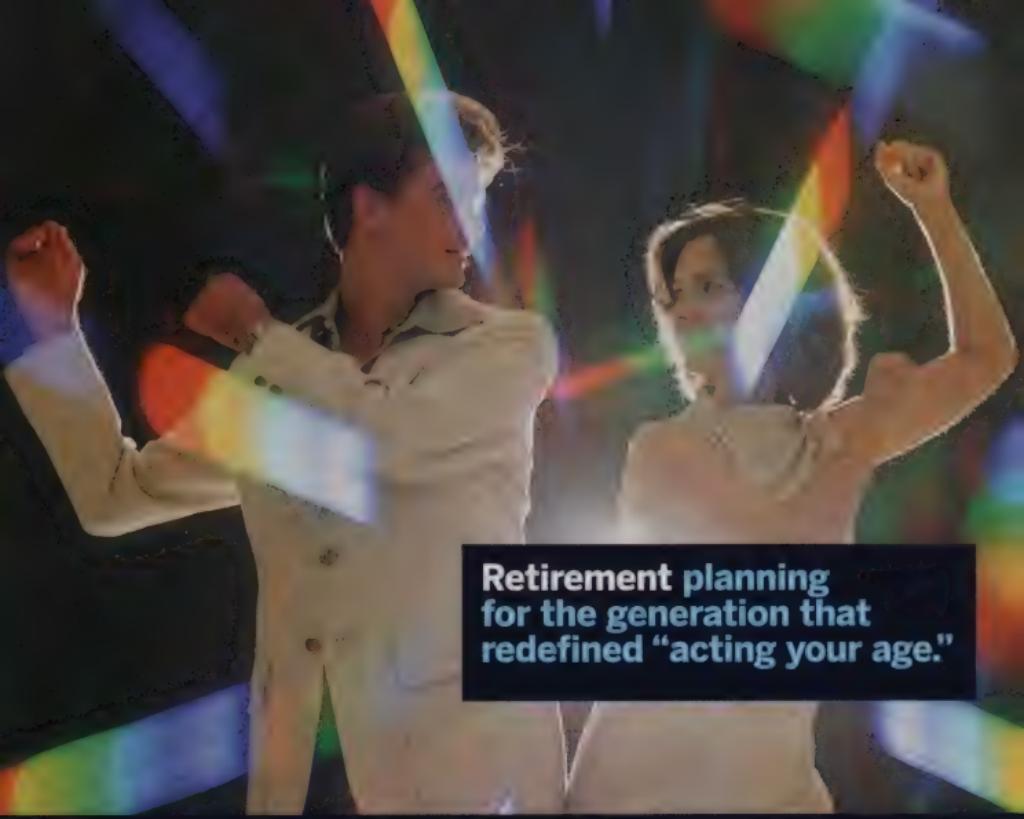
HIGHWAY 61 RESURFACED

BILL FITZHUGH

RICK SHANNON SENSES THAT something is wrong when the retired record producer he has been hired to find keep turning up freshly murdered—one with a fork still sticking out of his back. Shannon is a weeknight DJ at a classic-rock station in Vicksburg, Miss., who runs a detective agency by day. The case that drives this

Southern-fried page-turner revolves around a dying cotton dynasty, an OxyContin-popping former football star and tapes of a late-night blues session that have been missing for 50 years. Fitzhugh's dialogue is as cool as a pitcher of iced tea, and his characters are just over the top, like a Carl Hiaasen cast plucked from the Everglades and planted, as Dylan would put it, out on Highway 61. —By

Philip Elmer-DeWitt



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THE MARATHON GENERATION

By DANIEL KADLEC

LIFE
AFTER
WORK

IF YOU'RE A MIDDLE-AGER, IT'S INCREASINGLY likely that you or one of your friends will run a marathon. Folks in the 40-plus group are pretty much taking over the sport, accounting for a surprising 43% of all marathoners in the U.S. in 2004—up from 26% in 1980. The maturing baby-boom generation partly explains that growth. There are simply more folks over 40 out there. Yet there's more than demographics at work. Surging interest in marathons at middle age and beyond testifies to our longer, healthier lives and our growing determination to get the most out of that bonus time.

How much healthier are we? Mortality rates are going down, and our quality of life is improving. The rate of chronic disability among those over 65 has plunged to less than 20% from more than 26% two decades ago. The number of nursing homes and their occupancy rates declined over the 10 years ending in 1995, even as the population aged, according to *Milken Institute Review*. We're more educated than ever—and good health and education go hand in hand. For example, only 8% of Americans who have gone to graduate school smoke, compared with 34%

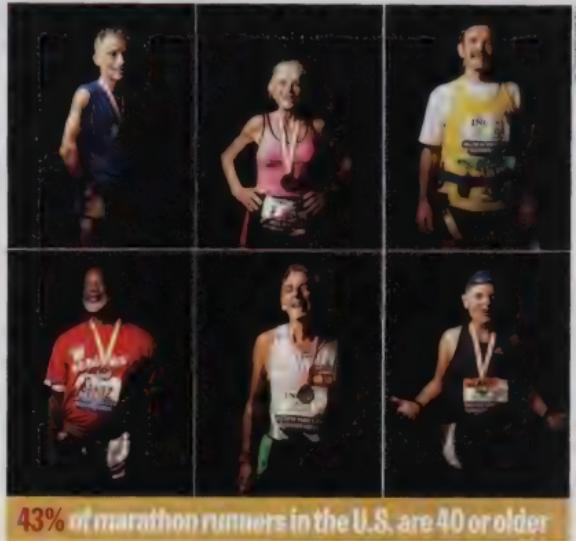
Kadlec's latest book is *The Power Years: A User's Guide to the Rest of Your Life*

of high school dropouts. What are folks doing with all the extra healthy years? Many are pursuing long-forgotten passions. Patrick Booley, 57, of North Pole, Alaska, chucked a 25-year career as a high school music teacher to pick up woodworking, which he had

Older Americans are healthier—and more active—than ever

enjoyed in grade school. So what if he makes half his old salary? "It's the most stress-relieving thing you can do," he says. "I absolutely love it. My wife has to come get me out of the shop in the evening."

That's how a lot of older people nowadays



43% of marathon runners in the U.S. are 40 or older

TOUGH ONES: Runners in the 2005 New York City Marathon, above, ages 54 to 72

think about marathons. "For days after running a marathon you just feel this sense of calm, of accomplishment," says Marla Rhoden, 50, a government administrator in Topeka, Kans. Her times are slower than they were 10 years ago. "But that's not hard to take," she says. "I do well for my age." She placed first among runners ages 50 to 59 in the Boston Marathon in April.

A remarkable 20% of the runners who finished in Boston were 50 or older, up from 13% of finishers 20 years ago. The numbers

are similar for the Seattle Marathon, where the 50-and-up crowd is growing 10% a year. In the New York City Marathon, that group accounts for 16% of finishers, up from 4% in 1976.

What may be most interesting about the increase in the number of boomers (and in some cases even their parents) who participate in marathons is that the movement seems to have staying power. Research from Yale University, Johns Hopkins and elsewhere shows that people over 50 who train regularly

gain muscle strength and can improve their performance, relative to their potential, faster than people in their 20s. Put another way, it's easier for boomers to slow their biological clock than it is for, say, their kids. Now, that's incentive.

And you don't have to be a marathoner to enjoy those benefits. Regular exercise of any kind lowers cholesterol and blood pressure, keeps weight down and improves mental outlook. It also reduces the risk of Alzheimer's disease. Those are races everyone must run. ■

FOREVER YOUNG

In 2005 the average age of marathon runners was **36.1** for women and **40.5** for men

Dimitris Yordanidis, **98**, and Jenny Wood-Allen, **91**, are the oldest man and the oldest woman ever to complete a marathon

In the U.S., a total of **314** marathons were held in 2005, up from **279** marathons in 2002

WHY I STILL TAKE MY DAILY FISH OIL



ANDREW WEIL, M.D.

MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN ABOUT THE BENEFITS of fish oil for the heart. So it came as a surprise last week when a study published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* reported that, contrary to earlier beliefs, taking fish-oil supplements did not reduce the risk of serious abnormal heart rhythms, the kind responsible for sudden cardiac death. You might be tempted to seize on this finding as yet another failure of a popular dietary supplement to protect health. That would be a mistake, because the study is of limited relevance to the general population. The benefits of fish oil are well established, not just for heart health but also for optimum functioning of both body and mind.

Fish oil is the best source of two long-chain essential fatty acids, eicosapentaenoic acid (EPA) and docosahexaenoic acid (DHA)—the omega-3 fats we hear so much about. Essential in this context means our body cannot synthesize them, so we must get them from food or supplements. Food is usually preferable to supplements, but in this case fish oil, in capsule or liquid form, may be a better source than the fish that produce it because it is purified to be free of mercury and organic toxins. I have long recommended that people consume one to two grams of fish oil a day, the same dose used in the J.A.M.A. study.

A new study is disappointing, but does it apply to the rest of us?

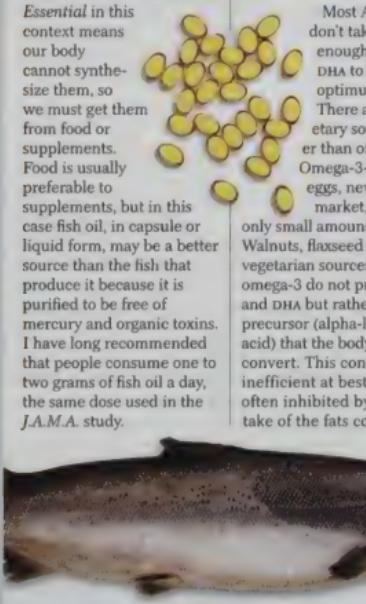
Most Americans don't take in enough EPA and DHA to maintain optimum health. There are few dietary sources other than oily fish. Omega-3-fortified eggs, new on the market, contain only small amounts. Walnuts, flaxseed and other vegetarian sources of omega-3 do not provide EPA and DHA but rather a precursor (alpha-linolenic acid) that the body must convert. This conversion is inefficient at best and often inhibited by high intake of the fats common in



processed and fast food.

The health-promoting effects of EPA and DHA have little or nothing to do with preventing abnormal cardiac rhythms. Their most important actions are reducing inflammation, reducing the clotting tendency of the blood, improving the profile of fats circulating in the blood, optimizing brain function (DHA is a major constituent of cell membranes in the central nervous system) and inhibiting abnormal cell proliferation, thereby reducing cancer risks. All of this translates into significant disease protection.

The subjects in the J.A.M.A. study had serious heart disease; all had or were about to have defibrillators implanted in their chests to shock their hearts out of episodes of potentially fatal arrhythmias. Two grams of fish oil a day did not reduce the incidence of those episodes or improve death rates. The study was well designed, but even its authors wonder about its significance for healthy people who want to eat right. Not much, to my mind. I take two grams of fish oil a day and recommend that almost everyone do so too.



Have a question for Dr. Weil about healthy hearts? Go to time.com/askdrweil



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**CAUSE CELEBS**

Activist stars like **DARYL HANNAH**, who spent three weeks in a walnut tree to support a Los Angeles farmers' garden, are getting creative in their protests:



After a Cristal exec said he views the high-end champagne's popularity with hip-hop stars as a "curiosity," **JAY-Z** felt dissed and decided to boycott, neither drinking it nor serving it at his chain of lounges.



BONO wants us to speak for AIDS causes—and not just on nights and weekends. The über-activist is pitching a Motorola RED phone, with \$10 of the purchase price and 5% of monthly charges going to AIDS charities.



ANGELINA JOLIE will celebrate World Refugee Day on CNN this week with her first U.S. TV interview since the birth of her baby with Brad Pitt. To peek at the hot mama, viewers must learn about Sierra Leone.

TANYA MARENKO/AP
BEN WALTERS/COMBO OUTLINE



WILLIAM MORRISON/ONCE UPON A TIME FILM

WHEN MARY MET JOSEPH—THE ROAD TRIP**FIRST LOOK**

In her movie *Thirteen*, director Catherine Hardwicke took a less-than-romantic look at the antics of adolescent girls. Now she's taking on another teen with a big secret in *The Nativity Story*. The film, which could also be called *The Passion of the Christ: The Prequel*, follows young Mary's life in Nazareth and her journey to Bethlehem with Joseph (**OSCAR ISAAC**). Taking the part of Mary—the key role, as any Christmas-pageant organizer can attest—is **KEISHA CASTLE-HUGHES**, 16, the New Zealander who swam to an Oscar nomination in 2002's *Whale Rider*. She has been "fearless, dazzling, an almost ageless spirit," says Hardwicke. Castle-Hughes gamely learned to milk goats, which, to the dismay of little kids everywhere, are played by real animals.

MEET AMERICA'S NEXT TOP POET

You make \$35,000 a year to get kids psyched about sonnets. No, you're not a middle school English teacher; you're the poet laureate. The Library of Congress has named New Hampshire writer **DONALD HALL** the U.S.'s new poet in chief. Hall has published 18 books of poetry—including a 1988 collection called *The One Day* that took 17 years to write, and two books about his late wife, poet Jane Kenyon. A "grateful" and "frantic" Hall says he would like to start a poetry channel on satellite radio or get poetry some airtime on cable TV. Can versifying reality stars be far behind?



AP/WIDEWORLD

Q&A | LUDACRIS

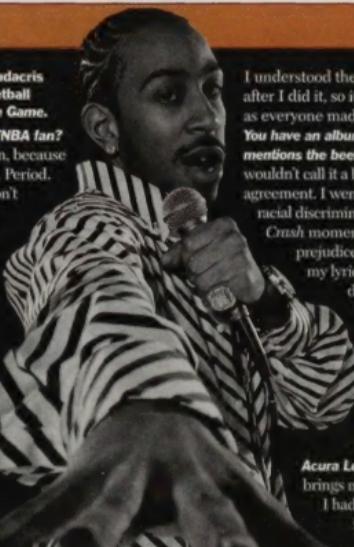
Actor and Grammy winner Ludacris narrates the new girls' basketball documentary *The Heart of the Game*.

So does this mean you're a WNBA fan?

I can't necessarily say I'm a fan, because I don't get to watch television. Period. I'm a fan of the NBA, but I don't even get to watch that.

This spring you went to the Oscars, the Kentucky Derby, the Indy 500 and the White House correspondents' dinner. You really get around. Yeah, man, life is a garden. You gotta dig it.

Which was more interesting: walking the red carpet at the Oscars or ringing the opening bell at NASDAQ? Walking the carpet. But don't get me wrong—I think I made history being the first rapper to ring the bell. I don't think



I understood the importance of it until after I did it, so it didn't seem as exciting as everyone made it out to be.

You have an album coming out soon that mentions the beef you have with Oprah. I wouldn't call it a beef, I would call it a disagreement. I went to talk about *Crush* and racial discrimination, and I had my own *Crush* moment because Oprah was

prejudiced against me because of my lyrics. She mentioned that I donated over \$100,000 to Katrina victims, but that got edited out. But it was O.K. for everything that bashed me to stay in there.

You have five cars, but your favorite is your 'Acura Legend'? Yeah, it always brings me back to the mentality I had before I was a star. And it still runs the same way.

—By Julie Reave

Po Bronson

Just Sit Back and Relax!

Why do Americans have to work so hard at taking it easy?

AHHH, SUMMER. TIME TO GOOF OFF. THERE'S ONLY ONE catch. It's not goofing off if you take it too seriously. But taking vacations seriously is exactly what we Americans seem to do. In the same way our kids' free time is now packed with activities, we grownups have turned vacations into "active leisure." Anytime you exhaust yourself trying to relax, that's active leisure. Our vacations come with an agenda, a purpose. We're visiting family, attending weddings, going camping, checking out that darn museum and making sure we ride that roller coaster—no matter how long the line is. We Americans are so active in our leisure that we commonly complain we need a vacation from our vacations. We leave home tired; we come back exhausted.

That's why many of us have decided not to go. Americans are allotted few vacation days (14 days, on average) compared with other industrialized countries, but ironically, we don't even use them. The average American will leave four vacation days on the table this year, which adds up to a whopping 574 million days of untaken vacation, collectively. Our relationship to relaxation seems contradictory. We spend more money than anyone else in the world on leisure—fully one-third of our income—and yet we are simultaneously No. 1 in the world at not taking vacations.

One of the top reasons given for not taking a vacation is that it's too much extra work. We have to get ahead of our workload in order to leave, and then we have to catch up on our workload upon our return. The longer the vacation we take, the bigger the stumbling blocks appear. So only 14% of Americans will take a vacation two weeks or longer this summer. Bottom line: it's simply become too stressful to relax.

We Americans take our time off so seriously that you can now get a Ph.D. in leisure studies at Penn State and 17 other renowned universities. That's right—a doctorate, not just a bachelor's. It's such an up-and-coming field in academe that there is an actual shortage of qualified educators. We don't have enough people to teach leisure. I am tempted to make a joke about this, but I don't want to incur the wrath of the leisure scientists. They'll beat me up with lawn chairs.

There's no doubt that work has found its way into every hour of our day, thanks to beepers, cell phones and e-mail. Our lunch

hours aren't even close to an hour; they average only 31 min. That's down 5 min. in 10 years. But fear not. We're getting our secret revenge. We've discovered a method to goof off despite it all. How? We seem to be stealing ever more bits of free time throughout the day.

For instance, surveys in recent years have concluded that the average American office worker "goofs off" for just over two hours a day—and that's not counting lunches or breaks. One hundred twenty-six minutes a day, to be exact. What do we do with this stolen time? "Spacing out" is a common poll response. Gossiping with co-workers is obviously popular. Surfing the Internet tops them all.

We might even prefer these brief snippets of "stolen time" to the long stretches of authorized vacation. We find it more fun—and more satisfying—to goof off when we're supposed to be working or running errands. It's our way of getting even. This subversive element is what makes the time stolen more pleasurable.

We are particularly adept at stealing time between events, such as on the way to work or the way home from school. We stretch our pit stops into rest stops. We grab 20 min. of tranquillity at Starbucks. Stuck in traffic, we call an old college friend and chitchat.

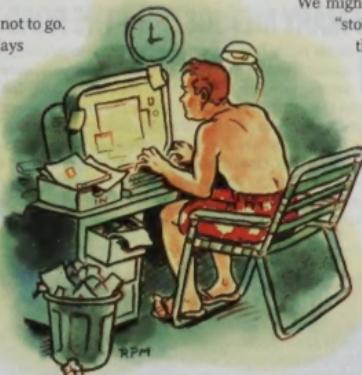
The faster we rush, the more time is left afterward to steal. To satisfy this desire,

McDonald's has announced a major redesign of its restaurants, swapping out the polymer chairs and melamine tables for cushioned fabrics, stainless-steel tables and plasma-screen televisions. By mimicking the look and feel of our own living rooms, McDonald's will now encourage lingering. (The line between lingering and loitering has not yet been determined.)

As crazy as it seems, we like to relax at places that serve jolting caffeine and superfast food.

According to travel agents, the growth trend in travel is the half-week sneak-away built around a weekend. Families still hit Disneyland and Paris, but we cram the experience into three or four days. We don't get to relax, but we come away feeling as if we got a bargain for our precious time. Fewer workdays off means less catching up.

Back at our desks come Tuesday, sunburned and a bit disoriented, we flash a cunning grin when a co-worker asks, "How was your weekend?" We feel as if we've beaten the system. Isn't that what we're really after? ■



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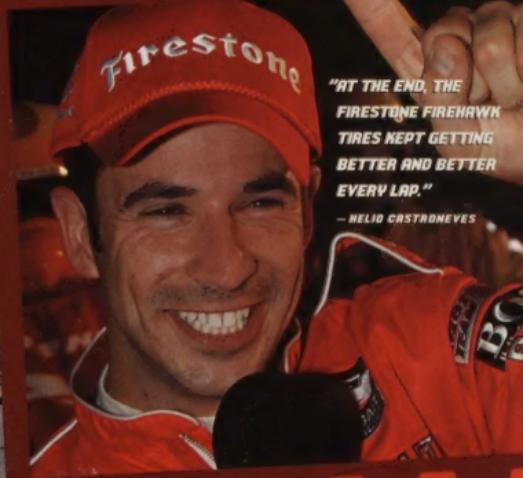
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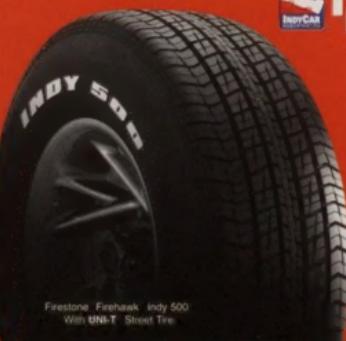
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